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ABSTRACT

Too many educational researchers have been too attentive to innovations and too inattentive to how educators organize to cope with them. The use of anthropological concepts and methods in analyzing the educator subculture could improve planning and implementation of innovations. A study of the attempt to develop a variant of a planning, programming, budgeting system in Oregon by the Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration, using a local school district as a testing site, reveals the operation of a moiety-like social organization among educators. A moiety system involves the division of a group into two camps, each with different ways of viewing any situation. Interaction between the two subgroups involves the anthropological concepts of rivalry, reciprocity, complementarity, and conceptual antithesis. In the educator subculture this structure is seen in the distinction between the technocrats--those who seek and instigate educational innovation--and the teachers--those who must implement the new ideas. Because of communications failures and other problems, the specific project in question operated not so much to change the educational system's processes as to reveal them more clearly to the anthropologist's eye. (Author/PGD)

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Teachers Versus Technocrats

An Educational Innovation
In Anthropological Perspective

Harry F. Wolcott

Center for Educational Policy and Management
University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon
1977

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In the very beginning we were one people.
Then we divided into Summer people and Winter people;
In the end we came together again as we are today.

But you can see
we are still Summer people and Winter people.

—Tewa informant
(quoted in Ortiz 1969:16)

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Foreword

By Max G. Abbott

There are a number of reasons why I was interested in preparing the foreword for Harry Wolcott's *Teachers Versus Technocrats: An Educational Innovation in Anthropological Perspective*. First, and most importantly, this report contains valuable lessons that should be heeded by those who would set out to bring about major changes in schools. I welcome the opportunity to call it to their attention. Second, for years I have exhorted students to anticipate both the unintended and intended consequences of their decisions and plans. The very existence of this report attests to the importance of paying attention to unplanned events. Third, the publication of this report confirms a belief that I have long held—that a healthy organization will not only support members with widely differing points of view, but will encourage those members to make their views known. Finally, but not incidentally, my perspective on the innovation on which this report is based—the SPECS project—differs somewhat from Harry's perspective. I believe that by sharing my perspective, however briefly, I can help to provide a more complete picture of what went on.

At the time that SPECS was launched, I was the Director of the Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration (CASEA). In that position I had some responsibility for all the research that was going on in the Center. But I was more directly involved in this project than would normally be expected of someone in my position; I was one of the instigators of the project. As Harry liked to point out, I became a part of his study.

I found myself in this dual role as a result of the convergence of two forces related to my own career. For a number of years I had been concerned about the lack of correspondence between curriculum planning and the delivery of instruction, on the one hand, and teacher evaluation practices, on the other. At one point I had initiated an attempt to devise a curriculum planning system that would give teachers a greater voice in stipulating appropriate outcomes of their teaching, thus allowing them to help set the criteria for evaluating their teaching performance.

In 1968, as the newly appointed director of an educational research and development center, I had another concern. The Center was being criticized severely by its funding agency (at that time, the U.S. Office of Education) for failing to engage in work that could legitimately be called "development." There was a strong implicit message in the criticism: continued funding for the Center would depend upon our willingness and ability to initiate such work.

As I cast about for ideas that would help us to fill this gap, I was attracted to some of the new approaches to planning that were being used in private industry and government. PPBS appeared particularly attractive, because it seemed to offer the potential for developing the type of curriculum planning system that I had considered earlier. At the same time, the development of such a system for schools would clearly help us fill our "developmental" gap.

The fact that I was attracted to such a "rational" system undoubtedly provides sufficient evidence to justify categorizing me as one of Harry's technocrats. I certainly believed in using "data" to support rational planning in preference to whatever its counterpart might be. (Irrational planning? Nonrational planning?) In any event, I shared my ideas with some of my colleagues, found one who already had an interest in PPBS, helped to prepare the project proposal, and thus contributed to the launching of what was to become SPECS.

The move to conduct a field test of SPECS grew out of its developers' firm conviction that only in that way could they know whether the system could be made to work, and with what results. The choice of the nearby South Lane School District as a pilot test site was largely fortuitous. The South Lane superintendent and board of education had developed an interest in PPBS; CASEA had a PPBS plan that needed testing.

When they first entered South Lane, project staff members met with teachers, administrators, and board members. They thought they were testing a system that would be of benefit to all of those. They believed that personnel at all levels in the school district were interested in giving SPECS a try. As time went on, and in the absence of direct reports to the contrary, they assumed that teachers were at least comfortable with what was happening. They had no intention of victimizing anyone, and they did not believe that anyone was being victimized.

But Harry's report tells us that they were wrong. Some teachers did feel that they had been victimized, and to them it probably made little difference that it was unintentional. Others resented the fact that CASEA had failed to respond to their appeals for relief. But we did not hear their appeals—at least not soon enough. We had to learn what we should have known: if you want to find out what people are thinking, ask them. We should have made provisions for direct contact with teachers, rather than depending upon traditional channels to convey their concerns.

For years I have held to the belief that agencies external to the schools can develop procedures and processes that can be used by school people to their advantage. Following the South Lane experience, and particularly after reading this report, I am no longer quite so sure. Certainly school people can benefit from outside help, as can people in other types of organizations. But they will benefit only if they receive help in doing what they think needs to be done, in doing what they believe in doing. They need to be partners in a venture, not the victims of that venture. In *Teachers Versus Technocrats* that message comes through loud and clear. Would-be "change agents" should listen.

There is another message in Harry's report that is more implicit than explicit—that is muted—but important nonetheless. It has to do with fortuitous circumstances, with unplanned events, with unintended consequences, with serendipity. In other words it has to do with much of what research is all about.

As the federal government began to provide increased support for educational research, it also began to increase the demands for detailed planning. As a result, investigators have not only been told to describe in detail what they plan to do and how they plan to do it, but they have also been instructed to state in advance what the results of their research will be. Such detailed planning may increase accountability and decrease risks for the funding agencies, but it creates another risk—that of stifling spontaneity and creativity. Unless researchers are free to follow unexpected leads, the result is research that is stilted and mechanical. It is in pursuing such leads that researchers make contributions that cannot be predicted ahead of time.

This report is a case in point. If Harry and the rest of us who were involved in SPECS had followed our original plans, this report would never have appeared. A manuscript such as this was never intended to grow out of the South Lane project. At the most, it was expected that Harry would produce a brief progress report. He went into South Lane not to document the implementation of SPECS there, but rather to build the basis for such documentation in subsequent SPECS field test sites.

He agreed to such an undertaking not because he supported SPECS or those who developed it, but because the vagaries of federal funding at the time required that he be attached to an "approved program." One "approved program" was SPECS. SPECS needed someone like Harry to help carry out a research mandate. Harry needed financial support to continue with his type of research. So Harry became a part of SPECS. And he did so, to use his own language, "dragging his heels."

As so frequently happens, once Harry's project was underway it took on a life of its own. It was expanded well beyond the scope of a brief chronology. It included observations on actors who had no affiliation with

South Lane. It lived far longer than the developers of SPECS had intended; it persisted beyond the time when some fervently hoped that it would die and go away. But it survived, and it did so despite the fact that federal funds disappeared before it was completed. The resulting report, which was neither planned nor anticipated, may turn out to be the most important outcome of the SPECS venture.

Now that it is available, the report should be required reading for every member of the House and Senate committees that appropriate funds for educational research. It should also be required reading for every member of the bureaucracies that manage those funds. It provides a vivid account of what happens when otherwise competent investigators are forced to demonstrate success, and to do so immediately. There were times when there was a good deal of discomfort within the Center about what was happening in South Lane. There were times when everything should have been put "on hold" while corrective action was taken. But deadlines had to be met, reports had to be prepared, success had to be demonstrated.

This does not mean that the developers of SPECS were malevolent or dishonest. On the contrary, they were honorable and competent. Their reports were accurate from one point of view. And from that point of view, what went on under the name of SPECS was of benefit to many. There is ample evidence for this in the comments made by teachers in South Lane. The problem was that there were other points of view that should have been heard. However, the costs associated with hearing those points of view were simply too high for people who had not only their reputations at stake, but also their jobs. Congress wanted immediate results from its agencies (first the U.S. Office of Education, and later the National Institute of Education). Those agencies could show results only by obtaining reports of success from people like us. Given what was at stake, and recognizing the inevitability of selective perception, it should be no surprise that reports of success were readily forthcoming.

In retrospect, I see the SPECS adventure as having been both exciting and traumatic. Reading Harry's report is both stimulating and disconcerting. I am sure there are many who will be uncomfortable with the picture he has painted. There are some who will say that his picture is an inaccurate depiction of the scene he presumably was viewing. But all of that is to be expected. Given the nature of the experience and the conflict surrounding it, failure to generate disagreement and discomfort would mean that his entire undertaking was a failure. I can attest to the fact that, at least for me, his undertaking was an unqualified success. I trust that others will share that view.

Introduction

Bias at Work: Proceed with Caution

> **Since members of every human society seek to suppress knowledge of their personal failures, family secrets, economic and social strategies, and many other topics, the anthropologist must, in seeking access to such information, establish for himself a radically new kind of role in the community—that of neutral observer.**
>
> —Pertti Pelto (1970:220)

As much as I hope you will read the account that follows, I cannot let you proceed without a note of caution. Although I have worked diligently to provide an objective report and analysis of this case study in educational innovation, it is important from the outset to establish my personal attitude toward the research and development project that is the focus of this book.

Broadly stated, the project was an outgrowth of the trend toward accountability that gained momentum in the late sixties, first in the federal government and later in public education. Specifically, the project was an attempt to devise a comprehensive system that would help schools plan, budget, operate, and evaluate their total educational program. Such systems are best known by the letters "PPBS," an acronym for planning-programming-budgeting-system. Some background material and bibliographic references concerning PPBS in general, its adaptation for schools, and the form it took in this particular project are included in the following chapter.

We will probably come to regard the late sixties and early seventies as the "good old days" when federal funds for educational research and development (R & D) seemed readily available and projects were supported on a large scale for relatively long periods of time. As R & D funding became less abundant in the mid-seventies, I must have been perceived by other project staff members as something of an ingrate for neither contributing to the success of the project nor admiring their tireless efforts. "Success," of course, refers to the success of this particular management system from the developers' point of view.

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Those of us involved in the project worked to maintain a distinction between the project's developmental aspects and an independent study researching its effects. In theory, success of the research effort depended more on the validity of research findings than on the quality of the developmental materials themselves. In fact, however, trying to operate an independent research unit within a project that was essentially developmental created considerable interpersonal and intraorganizational stress for project members.

For my part, I confess to having done the right thing for the wrong reasons in not providing the developers with feedback from my independent efforts to learn how the pilot study was faring. My official reason for reticence was to preserve my role as observer; I did not want to interfere with the natural evolution of the project. However, I was also loathe to provide the developers with any information that might eventually lead to a more skillful handling of mounting teacher resistance in the pilot-study district.

My role as the project's ethnographer provided me with an extended opportunity to learn about the dynamics of the professional cadre of one school district. Watching that cadre under conditions of imposed change helped me study its social structure and that, in turn, became the central focus of my research. I was allowed a free hand in my inquiry through cooperative support from school district central office personnel and noninterference by curious but incredibly patient members of the project staff. The lack of feedback on my part was not without cost, however. Increasingly I found that other project staff members were treating me as I was treating them, by frequently failing to provide me either with information about their interactions with the school district, with copies of new or revised materials, or with up-to-date reports about the fate of the project. My work as ethnographer was often hampered by the need to play detective.

In spite of generally favorable conditions for conducting research, my feeling throughout the duration of the fieldwork was a sense of embarrassment at being associated with the project. I seldom talked about what I was doing among my family and friends, students, or colleagues in other departments. I was distressed by the heavy-handed manner in which the pilot study was imposed on teachers and dismayed at how the resources of my own institution were being poured into the district to *make* the project succeed. My personal sympathies and ethnographic attention increasingly came to focus on a small but growing circle of teachers who were objecting to the pilot program. I was fascinated by the courage displayed by some teachers who regarded the project as an inadequately designed and oppressively imposed system that greatly infringed on their professional autonomy. In sympathy, if not necessarily in overt action, I "went native." I endeavored to document teacher malaise with as much effort and enthusiasm as the developers and administrators were investing in their efforts to advertise the best aspects of the project and their ambitions for it.

Given these circumstances, it may come as a surprise that what follows is not intended to be an evaluative study, but will instead focus on description and analysis. Despite my best efforts toward objective reporting, however, I recognize that I may inadvertently have loaded the dice; therefore, I am spelling out my biases so that the reader can be wary. I should also note that these biases are rather independent of my training and experience as an ethnographer. Basically, I have always maintained an interest in teachers and teaching, and I am inherently suspicious of efforts to increase the managerial efficiency of education at the cost of teacher autonomy.

Through my participation in this study I have also realized that I am far more favorably disposed toward basic research efforts that seek to learn about schools than toward developmental efforts that seek to manipulate educational processes. I am not favorably inclined toward a great deal of the effort expended in educational research and development, especially in the realm of developmental work. Although my well-intentioned but somewhat chance assignment to a developmental project dealing with PPBS exacerbated my biases, it did not create them; my personal reaction to what I observed during the project would have been quite predictable to anyone who knows me. This experience did, however, strongly reaffirm my antagonism toward the kind of materials being developed, toward the underlying assumptions of PPBS, and toward the Machiavellian style in which they were implemented during the pilot study. Whether an entirely favorable experience would have swayed those predispositions seems unlikely but must remain moot.

In the long run, my personal distress became a source of inspiration in my search for ways to look analytically at the processes I was observing. It was easy enough to assuage my embarrassment at being associated with the project, my indignation concerning the manner in which the pilot study had been imposed on the teachers, and my disaffection for the types of people who would be attracted to such a system in the first place. But I could not satisfy myself with the tempting conclusion that these were evil individuals, nor could I muster any evidence of their malfeasance. They were self-serving perhaps, and at times incredibly insensitive, but not malevolent.

With that realization came the clear need to find an analytical perspective that would allow me to treat all of the actors in the case study as individuals behaving more or less appropriately in terms of some particular cultural system. I recognized but tried to resist the anthropological tendency to identify singlemindedly with the underdogs, the oppressed, or the colonized. Nonetheless, I probably devoted a disproportionate amount of my attention to the small nucleus of teachers most actively involved in mobilizing resistance to the project. I stuck rather close to that group because I felt that they offered one of the few possibilities for actually "observing" an educational innovation.

At this point let me anticipate the forthcoming analysis by pointing out that the teachers, administrators, and developers described in the case study do not share an entirely similar "world view." Even though they are all educators, they do not attach the same meaning to every element within the educational system. With no more hint of the analysis than that, let me now proceed to recount and put in context the course of the project and, within that context, the history of the pilot study.

The account consists of three major parts. Part I is essentially descriptive, but it is intended to be an indepth inquiry into what different people did and said rather than a mere chronicle of events. Consistent with that expectation, my research approach employed such standard anthropological field techniques as participant-observation (extending over three years, but without the intensity of a full-time, consuming experience), structured and informal interviews, use of written questionnaires, and examination of written documents.* All of the data gathered through these techniques are viewed from the dual perspective of my experiences as educator and ethnographer. Parts II and III utilize analysis of the case as a means of understanding more about the educator subculture. The analytical framework provided in Part II calls for additional data, which are provided in Part III; these additional descriptive data have been selected for the express purpose of illustrating and exploring the suggested analytical framework.

The reader whose interests are limited to gathering technical information about PPBS in schools or to the particular adaptation of PPBS that was developed and pilot tested in this project will do better to look elsewhere. The project's developers have hardly been reticent in reporting their activities; their reports provide a suitable starting place. In addition, their publications have been preceded and accompanied by the writings of numerous others who have espoused the glorious possibilities of PPBS for schools.

There is another compelling reason for not making this study a technical report on a particular adaptation of PPBS. Because the set of materials described here has undergone continual revision, it would be pointless to dwell on the shortcomings of particular facets of the original materials. There is no question that those early materials needed improvement, and I am willing to take it on faith that they were improved. I have little interest in the materials themselves and even less in details of their transformation, although plotting that transformation would have been another way to study the dynamics of adaptation. My interest as an ethnographer is in the human processes at work; those processes are not rendered obsolete by cosmetic changes in specific documents or procedures.

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* This study differs from my previous work in its conceptual approach but not in the manner in which I conducted fieldwork. I have discussed fieldwork in a number of earlier writings (1971; 1973; 1974; 1975a; 1975b; 1975c).

Although the attempt to implement an adaptation of PPBS in one school district provided the impetus for this study, I have endeavored to transcend that event to provide a new perspective into the social organization of the education subculture. This study deals with educators involved in a cultural process rather than with PPBS as an educational product. Nevertheless, the early chapters provide a case study and of necessity include specific details about the materials, about the developmental efforts of the project staff, and about the varied reaction to those efforts. As Clifford Geertz observed in an essay extolling the virtues of "thick description," "The important thing about the anthropologist's findings is their complex specificness, their circumstantiality" (Geertz 1973: 23). This inquiry into the human dimensions of people whose careers are involved with the work of the schools is rooted in thick description. I hope that the combination of description and analysis amply demonstrates that education remains very much a human enterprise, even if it must sometime struggle to remain a humanistic enterprise as well.

PART I

The Case Study as Event

Chapter 1

Challenge:
The Project's Early Days

> To the technician, the nation is nothing more than another sphere in which to apply the instruments he has developed
> —Robert K. Merton (1964:vii)

THE FOUR CHAPTERS in Part I form a case history that has been cast in the familiar nexus of the historian's "challenge and response." In order to attend to the widest possible context, I have introduced two somewhat arbitrary dimensions into this history. One is a distinction between events related to the entire research and development project and events related to the pilot study that comprised only part of the total project. The second dimension distinguishes even more arbitrarily between "early" days and "later" days, using the end of the formal three-year pilot study as the midpoint of the narrative.

This chapter, the first of four that comprise Part I, begins with a detailed review of some of the materials developed during the project and then traces the project's growth from a kernel of an idea into a full-blown project with prospects for long-range funding. The next two chapters breathe life into the account by focusing attention on the sequence of events during the pilot study, with particular attention to the final year of the formal three-year field test ("early days") and events subsequent to the official termination of the pilot study ("later days"). Since I did not join the project staff until the pilot study was two and one-half years underway, relatively little attention is devoted to the actual sequence of events during the field test except as those events were recalled many months later in light of subsequent developments. The last of the four chapters focuses on the entire project once again and examines the intricate network of events within which the pilot study existed.

There will be no shortage of acronyms as this case history develops. Readers familiar with the letters "PPBS" already have some idea of the general nature of the program to be described, a variation on a planning-programming-budgeting-system. Even more central to this account is another acronym for the particular adaptation of PPBS on which my attention will focus. That acronym is *SPECS*: School Planning, Evaluation, and Communication System.

Planning-Programming-Budgeting Systems

In the course of its evolution, SPECS reveals both its historical link with planning-programming-budgeting systems and an important shift away from the cost-effectiveness concerns that provide the rationale for those systems. In some early adaptations of PPBS for use in education, evaluation, one of education's particular bug-a-boo's (cf. Wolcott 1975b) was added to the system. Thus PPBS in government and industry became PPBES in schools—planning, programming, budgeting, and *evaluation* system. One can trace SPECS' lineage as follows:

PPBS:	Planning-Programming-Budgeting System
PPBES:	Planning, Programming, Budgeting, and Evaluation System
DEPS:	Data-Based Educational Planning System
SPECS:	School Planning, Evaluation, and Communication System

If one sees the historical roots of PPBS extending back to a broader interest in accountability, then those roots go back as far as one's patience in tracing them. Certainly the era of "scientific management" in both industry and education during the 1920s reflects such a focus. One educational writer reminds us that we can trace accountability back farther than that:

> Accountability is not a new idea. It is at least as old as the Bible; in Romans 14:12, the Apostle Paul writes that "every one of us shall give account of himself to God" (Knezevich 1973:57).

To look for a more recent and less encompassing origin for the current interest in accountability, we might take the middle of our own century. According to one source, "the probable beginning of the modern attempt to integrate movements in budgetary practice, management science, and computer technology was around 1950" (Alioto, *et al.* 1971:8). If PPBS had its own 'day in court,' that moment occurred 15 years later, on August 25, 1965. On that date President Lyndon Johnson announced an executive order directing that an integrated planning-programming-budgeting system be installed in all federal executive departments (Knezevich 1973:1).

In looking back on the fertile climate for educational innovation during the 1960s, it is interesting to note how quickly the idea of PPBS was discussed, developed, and tested for its applicability to schools. What to make of that speed, and of PPBS itself were topics that generated more heat than light. Both in and out of schools there were assertions that PPBS was an idea whose time had not yet come, an idea whose time had come and gone, or an idea whose time would never come. Some argued that "PPB, introduced in 1961, had become epidemic by 1968" (Merewitz and

Sosnick 1971:273), while others cautioned that its technology had gotten ahead of its theory. As the following passage illustrates, still others argued that many reported adoptions of PPBS were actually adoptions of only its budgeting element.

> It appears that between 800 and 1,000 local schools are in the process of developing *program budgets* in 1971-72, but one should keep in mind that a *program budget* is simply one component, and probably the easiest to develop, of a total PPB system (Hartley 1972:19).

Although the topic of budgeting might appear central to a case study of PPBS, that topic will be little dealt with in these pages.* A major reason for that omission is the fact that I have little interest and even less knowledge in matters of budgeting and business management. As a result, I did not pursue the development of SPECS Component Two (the budgeting phase) during the pilot study. Nonetheless, I came away with the impression that cumbersome budgeting procedures developed early in SPECS were replaced so quietly by similar but simplified state-mandated procedures that members of the pilot district's school board were not even aware that Component Two had been discarded for almost two years.

The SPECS lineage noted earlier suggests that budgeting was not a central concern, and indeed initial claims for SPECS as a form of PPBS were often dropped in later brochures describing the program. SPECS did include provisions for program budgeting (displaying budgetary information in terms of programs such as "5th grade mathematics") rather than the more traditional line-item budgeting. However, the possibility of obtaining such information raised questions about what use could be made of it. As one teacher remarked, "What difference does it make to know how much it costs to teach 5th grade math, if it is going to be taught anyway?"

Explanations of PPBS seem to vary with each author or speaker. Sometimes it is defined in terms of its essential ingredients, such as in the following description:

> PPB has five distinguishing features: program accounting, multi-year costing, detailed description of activities, zero-base budgeting [defending a budget without reference to the size of previous appropriations], and quantitative evaluation of alternative or benefit-cost analysis (Merewitz and Sosnick 1971:273).

PPBS may also be described in terms that emphasize how it is a natural outgrowth of improved techniques in all its various components, resulting in what one advocate refers to as "common sense by design" and "a mode of thinking that helps to sharpen the intuitive judgment of a decision maker" (Hartley 1972:20).

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* Readers particularly interested in the budgeting aspects of PPBS are referred to *The Budget's New Clothes: A Critique of Planning-Programming-Budgeting and Benefit-Cost Analysis* (Merewitz and Sosnick 1971) as well as to standard treatises detailing the subject. In a comprehensive study made of two school systems that enthusiastically embraced the idea of PPBS, it was subsequently reported that neither district actually switched to a system that "even loosely" resembled it. What they did instead was develop a capacity to display their budget figures in the new program format *in addition to* the traditional line-item format (van Geel 1973:2; see also van Geel 1972).

Detractors of PPBS have not necessarily enumerated their reservations with any greater precision. Victor Thompson provides implicit criticism by laying bare the underlying assumptions of "the new PPB system of control" (Thompson 1969). In paraphrased form, here are the assumptions he identifies:

1. The organization can be disregarded; only the means-end logical analysis is relevant.
2. The techniques of mathematicians and accountants are the basic managerial tools.
3. Human motivation is not problematic; it can be assumed.
4. The only legitimate concern of administration is production values.
5. Rationality involves the comprehensive analysis of a problem ("getting all the facts") and a coordinated effort to achieve a single preset group of goals or preference-ordered goals.
6. "Social and cultural conditioning are either nonexistent or irrelevant." (Elsewhere Thompson comments that proponents of PPB "vastly underestimate" the complexity of individuals and the social systems with which they deal, and I take that to be the intent of his point here.)
7. A single preference-ordering for all social needs is desirable and/or possible.
8. It is worthwhile to achieve the *form* of rationality, to make decisions based on defendable formulae no matter how arbitrary the values assigned to the variables may be. (Cf. "Although the form of the calculation is undoubtedly impeccable, the values assigned to many of the variables are almost completely arbitrary." p. 57.)
9. Organizational flexibility can be taken for granted.
10. PPB rejects acceptance, consensus, or other sociopolitical criteria for achievement. People do not know. You must use machines, logic, mathematical manipulations.

Thompson identifies the resurgence of interest in "efficiency and economy" as "neo-Taylorism," referring to the era of scientific management spearheaded by Frederick Taylor. A central element in Thompson's criticism and the criticism of others is that faith in PPBS (or any other system) can too easily lead to addressing only those problems that the new system can solve.

> The neo-Taylorites set up self-serving rules that assure their being able to reach determinate solutions. That is, they solve what problems they can, not the problems that most need to be solved. This makes them "look good," like the physical scientists. They optimize a set of conventions, not subjective utility (Thompson 1969:56).

If any one element tends to be singled out most often in discussions of PPBS, it is program budgeting. Harry Hartley, one of education's most prolific writers on PPBS, emphasizes that a program budget is "simply one component, and probably the easiest to develop, of a total PPB System" (Hartley 1972:19). Even that distinction is not made consistently (cf. Browder *et al.* 1973:222), but in any event the changes that PPBS requires in thinking about budgets provide a good clue to changes in planning and programming. In Hartley's words:

> Both programs and resources are projected for at least several years into the future. Emphasis is upon outputs, cost-effectiveness methods, rational planning techniques, long-range objectives and analytical tools for decision-making. Probably the most important single task that must be accomplished in moving to this kind of planning and budgeting is the development of a program structure (Hartley 1968:76).

Since PPBS cannot actually make decisions about budgets or programs or goals, such systems are properly viewed as information systems that enable people to make informed decisions. Whether PPBS really is more a decision-making process than an operations research tool might well depend on who is trying to convince whom about its merits. It does seem reasonable to insist that any responsible official might be attracted to a system that modestly claims to help officials make good decisions (cf. Browder, *et al.* 1973:197; Schultze 1969; Van Dusseldorp *et al.* 1971: 134).

The Impetus for Developing SPECS

The individuals who developed SPECS and were largely responsible for seeing it through to "project" status can hardly be accused of ignoring the shortcomings and criticisms identified with other PPB systems. As a matter of fact, the shortcomings of PPBS provided a major impetus for adapting and refining it into a more "humanistic" approach for use in schools. Nevertheless, SPECS was nurtured in a climate highly favorable toward improving accountability and fiscal responsibility. PPBS had been endorsed by government practice and had sparked legislative interest in a number of states. It seemed to be an answer to increasing concern about public expenditures and was consistent with the American penchant for making things "better" by making them more efficient. The developers acknowledged the favorable timing for their efforts in a statement written during the early stages of the pilot study.

> If innovation was the rallying cry in education during the sixties, accountability will most assuredly be the rallying cry during this next decade, and PPBS is viewed by many state legislators as the most promising vehicle for achieving that accountability (*In* Jacobson *et al.* 1973:116).

Little wonder, the developers mused, that the adoption of a planning system like PPBS seemed "an attractive alternative to the kind of information-free, seat-of-the-pants planning which has for so long characterized the teaching-learning process." PPBS had even more going for it, however; it was gaining recognition as *the* coming attraction in school management. The developers noted:

> By 1970 three-fourths of all state legislatures in the United States had either already mandated or were in the process of mandating that public school districts develop statewide planning-programming-budgeting systems (p. 116).

As the developers recognized, these mandates in most states actually required only that school districts be able to budget and report annual expenditures in a program budget format. The tendency to equate program budgeting with PPBS undoubtedly lent further impetus to the whole PPBS movement by providing its proponents with an opportunity to argue the need for developmental efforts and by disarming its opponents through the hint of inevitability.

The developers of SPECS embraced the underlying ideas of PPBS in schools, which they described as "a technological approach to educational planning." However, they seriously questioned whether the PPBS models developed for use by private enterprise or the federal government could ever be "legitimately applied to an educational organization." Their concern focused principally on what they saw as the tendency of PPBS to "bureaucratize," with the consequences of:

> . . . centralizing decision-making, controlling communication, standardizing both goals and activities, strengthening the administrative hierarchy, and guaranteeing that the flow of nearly all authority and decisions in the organization is from the top down (*In* Jacobson, *et al.* 1973:119).

Such a list of shortcomings is an obvious clue that the authors were about to propose a more appropriate alternative. And sure enough, they promptly introduced SPECS' immediate predecessor: "One . . . such alternative is Data-Based Educational Planning Systems (DEPS), a version of a planning-programming-budgeting system which has recently been developed and tested at the Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration (CASEA)" (*In* Jacobson *et al.* 1973:123). In the developers' terms, the contrast between the standard PPBS model and the new DEPS model was summarized by the contrasting words *bureaucratic* and *collegial*. The latter term refers to two distinctive features of DEPS — the sharing of goal-setting activities among administrators, teachers, and community members and the involvement of teachers in organizing as well as executing instructional or "operating" programs.

"Welcome to the SPECS Party"

The SPECS project as an identifiable group of people traces its origins to its two original developers, who were staff associates at the Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration (CASEA). However, the project also directly involved two other groups of individuals in addition to the development team. One group was comprised of the additional research associates and assistants assigned to the project. This included graduate students who worked on the project for one to several years ("It's bread," reflected one student, referring to project employment as a means of subsidizing advanced graduate study at the university), as well as to faculty associates like myself who spent one or more years with the project on either a full-time or part-time basis. As frequently happens in such programs, one student who initially worked as a graduate research assistant completed a doctoral thesis related to the project and subsequently joined the development team as a staff associate. In addition, the support groups included a number of "field trainers" throughout the country who were available as part-time regional consultants to provide training and to assist school districts with implementation. Other resources of the support group included secretaries (two in the project's heyday) and the services of other specialized personnel in the R & D center, such as graphic artists.

Another identifiable group of individuals involved with the SPECS project consisted of well-wishers, interested or sympathetic administrators, liaison personnel (especially the parade of project officers from the funding agency in Washington), and school officials. If it is obvious that a project of any scale must have financial and institutional support, it is equally critical that it have the support of a professional constituency as well.

From the beginning, the basic idea and intent of SPECS—to adapt and test a form of PPBS suitable for schools—had the wholehearted support of CASEA's director. If the director did not always approve or understand every nuance of the SPECS procedures, he was nonetheless one of the project's keenest supporters in its continuing effort to produce and test the system. From the developers' point of view, they could not have had a better ally. For a period of a year and one-half the director even assumed the formal role of project codirector when development and research activities were separated. Any personal misgivings the CASEA director felt about applying PPBS to schools became part of his rationale for supporting the development of a special form of PPBS especially suited for schools.

At its peak between 1972 and 1975, the project had a total staff of a dozen or more members and average annual expenditures of about $230,000. Initially its core membership was stable; one of the two original developers remained with the project for six consecutive years. The director of CASEA took an active role early in the project but eventually, in the fashion of every other long-time member of the R & D center (including myself), drifted to another assignment. The exodus of staff members from the project began unexpectedly in 1973 when one of the original developers accepted a generously salaried but tenuously funded directorship in another federally supported educational research and development center. Graduate students came and went in succeeding years, some remaining for the two- or three-year duration of their doctoral studies. By the time the project officially terminated in 1976, not one of the original staff members was still associated with it.

During the course of the project, its formal title changed several times, from *Program 5* to *Program 50* to *Project 5001* to *DEPS* to *PPBS in Schools* to *SPECS*. The name of the R & D center also changed, from the Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration (CASEA) to the Center for Educational Policy and Management (CEPM). Even the project's funding agency changed, from the United States Office of Education (OE) to the National Institute of Education (NIE). Office assignments, telephone extension numbers, and support staff personnel changed frequently. The constant changing was nicely illustrated in one meeting when a newly assigned federal project officer had his first meeting with one of the developers newly assigned as project director. Before they could exchange their office telephone numbers—a gesture intended to signal the beginning of a close and harmonious working relationship—each had to search through personal papers to find his new extension number; both their numbers had been changed only days before.

Yet the project did have continuity. Indeed, as a result of their involvement with the project throughout its first six years, the two original developers assumed an inevitable sense of proprietorship toward the materials and resources of the project. That spirit can perhaps be conveyed through the words one developer wrote on a chalkboard for the first meeting of the newly funded and greatly expanded project in December, 1972: "Welcome to the SPECS Party."

The greeting and the meeting marked the successful conclusion of a three and one-half year effort to develop DEPS, to locate a school district willing to pilot-test it, and to write a successful funding proposal for continuing the project's work. The new proposal was of sufficient scope to allow completion of the pilot study, to conduct a large-scale trial of the system by introducing it into a number of school districts across the United States, and to mount a related research effort to assess its consequences.

Although CASEA staff members displayed a mutual sense of achievement and relief that the project had been funded in its new and expanded form, not everyone shared the developers' unabashed enthusiasm. "At times," reflected a colleague, "we must all work on activities in which we have at best a modest interest." Others shared my feeling even then that attending the "SPECS Party" was like going to see a new baby—whatever its imperfections, the role of the invited guest is only to admire. A dazzling array of charts, printed materials, and a filmstrip preview nurtured our suspicions. What we previewed at the party eventually became a complete set of materials for providing a 12-20 hour workshop for school personnel interested in adopting SPECS. These materials included a 200-page participant's notebook, a workshop manual and consultant's manual (150 pages each), 250 color slides with accompanying commentary, and a number of wall charts and transparencies for overhead projection. A fondness for providing data on wall-sized charts proved to be something of a hallmark of SPECS presentations.

The SPECS Materials

Long before the project was named SPECS, a major effort had been expended in developing and refining the teacher materials that constituted the heart of it. That effort continued during and after the pilot study. Thus the materials were forever being superseded by newer ones. They proved elusive in that regard. One can, however, catch a fleeting glimpse of them.

Most SPECS "documents" consisted of instructions and work spaces in which teachers were to supply lists of objectives, materials, student names, instructional or evaluative processes, instructional outcomes, and so forth. At the bottom of almost every page a 50-word copyright statement appeared. Copyright protection was extended both to rather detailed forms for recording classroom efforts and to virtually blank pages. For example, except for a continually repeated heading requiring Program Title, Program Code, School Year, Semester, Program Date(s), Program Planner(s), and Program Implementer(s), one form consisted essentially of blank space under the following two headings:

> List below the unit's general or nonmeasurable objectives that will be translated into performance objectives in individual General Objective Plans (4.0) and for which actual student performance data will be collected during the unit; code these 1, 2, 3 etc.

and, on the back of the page,

> List below those general or nonmeasurable objectives that are important to the unit, but will not be translated into performance objectives and so will not be measured during the unit; code these nonmeasurable objectives in sequence from those listed above.

An external reviewer, who was surreptitiously sent a set of the SPECS materials by a staff member skeptical of their adequacy, reportedly commented "You certainly have someone there who can write. Even an elephant could understand it. But it doesn't say anything." Figure 1-1 illustrates the directions for using the SPECS "Record of Student Performance."

Ideas buried in the verbose directions of the Record of Student Performance reappear in other forms provided for teacher use. Several ideas central to the intent of SPECS are illustrated by Figure 1-1. The critical role of measurement is apparent. An emphasis on *pretesting* (in addition to testing after instruction) is enhanced by the inclusion of separate columns for recording the details of such information. Likewise, a distinction between an assessment of *mastery* and an assessment of *effort* is emphasized by providing separate columns for recording that information.

Teacher preparation of planning documents listing general and performance objectives, and teacher recording of test scores and mastery levels,

Figure 1-1

Example of Format and Directions From an Early Version of a SPECS Document Intended for Classroom Teacher Use

Directions for Using the Record of Student Performance
(Documents 6.10-6.15 and 6.20 and 6.21)

A. Select either the 6.10 series or the 6.20 series.

The 6.10 series permits listing student names down the left side of the full page and program objectives and tasks across the top of the partial pages. The 6.20 series permits listing the program objectives down the left side of the full page and student names across the top of the partial pages.

The 6.10 series is limited to thirty-six students, but unlimited in terms of the number of objectives and tasks for which data can be recorded for those students. The 6.20 series is limited to 36 objectives, but unlimited in terms of the number of students for whom performance data on those objectives can be recorded.

B. How to use the 6.10 series.

1. On document 6.10 list the names of all students for whom data will be recorded.
2. Select one of the three partial pages—6.11, 6.12, 6.13—to record data regarding each student's performance. These three pages provide different formats for recording *for each objective*:
   a. the objective's related unit or program code;
   b. its own code number;
   c. each student's pre and/or posttest scores and an interpretation of those scores in terms of mastery or progress toward mastery (see "D" below);
   d. an indication of each student's effort to achieve the objective (see "E" below); and
   e. a summary of group outcomes.

Document 6.13 also provides space for recording supplementary data relevant to each objective—homework assignments, classroom exercises, etc. Document 6.14 is designed solely for recording these various kinds of supplemental data and can be used with any of the other three partial pages.

3. At the conclusion of each program or unit included in the *Record of Student Performance*, use the right side of document 6.10 and/or document 6.15 to summarize for each student his overall performance on the objectives and tasks comprising that program or unit.

C. How to use the 6.21 series.

1. On document 6.20, list by code number the program(s), units, and objectives for which data will be recorded.
2. On document 6.21, record for each student who works toward each objective:
   a. his name and class or period;
   b. his pre and/or posttest scores and an interpretation of these scores in terms of mastery or progress toward mastery (see "D" below);

c. supplemental data relevant to each objective — homework assignments, quizzes, and classroom exercises, etc; and

d. an indication of his effort to achieve the objective (see "E" below).

3. At the end of each program included in the *Record of Student Performance*, use the right side of document 6.20 to summarize group performance on each objective. Enter the total number of students who worked on it in the column headed "Total." In the remaining columns, enter the number who achieved various degrees of mastery of the objective, the number who demonstrated various degrees of effort to achieve it, and the number of students for whom complete data are undetermined (U). If, in addition, a summary for *each student's* overall performance on the objectives, and tasks in the program or unit is desired, use document 6.10 to summarize the data recorded on documents 6.20 and 6.21.

D. When interpreting *mastery* on the basis of pre and/or posttest scores, refer to the specific criteria defined in each objective.

1. If the program or unit is so designed that all students move through it, under the same time constraints, their levels of mastery will inevitably vary. Therefore, use one of the following to designate the degree to which each student mastered each objective:

   MB—The student performed the desired behavior with *mastery before* instruction.

   MA—The student performed the desired behavior with *mastery after* instruction.

   CP—The student failed to achieve mastery, but made *considerable progress* toward it.

   SP—The student failed to achieve mastery, but made *some progress* toward it.

   LP—The student failed to achieve mastery, and made *little or no progress* toward it.

2. If students are encouraged to work on each objective, until they demonstrate mastery of it, use the MB and MA designations defined above or one of the following indicators:

   √=mastery

   2/4=mastery achieved on February 4

Documents 6.11, 6.13, and 6.21 provide a column headed "M" for recording this interpretive data; document 6.12 has a column for each designation, making it easier to summarize group outcomes.

E. To distinguish clearly between *effort* and *mastery* when assessing each student's effort to achieve each objective, use one of the following:

CE—The student made *considerable effort* to achieve this objective.
SE—The student made *some effort* to achieve this objective.
LE—The student made *little or no effort* to achieve this objective.

were two activities easy to require and easy to monitor in the implementation of SPECS. Since these activities were mandated for all grade levels and all teachers in the pilot study, they constituted a basic facet of "doing SPECS" that incorporated both materials and procedures. "Doing SPECS" could also refer to processes that required the use of specific documents but also encompassed other instructional activities (especially the planning of instructional units). In response to early complaints from teachers that their involvement with SPECS required far more time than expected, the pilot-study district eventually instituted "SPECS Days" when children were not at school for all or part of the day. On SPECS Days teachers engaged in several activities related to their teaching, in addition to simply filling in forms. Much of this work involved curriculum planning and included meetings of teachers within each school and meetings of teachers of the same subject area or grade level within the entire district.

Each elementary school in the pilot district and each instructional division within the junior and senior high schools had one teacher identified as a Program Planning Leader (PPL). PPLs held meetings with the teachers in their schools and attended districtwide meetings of all PPLs. In the early days of the pilot study these meetings often served as problem clinics. The SPECS developers frequently attended in order to offer explanations and to solicit teacher reactions to revised or new procedures. Any of these activities was appropriately identified as "doing SPECS," although teachers expressed resentment at innuendos that similar activities had not occurred prior to the introduction of SPECS.

SPECS' Five Components

In the complex scheme of things envisioned by the developers, all the foregoing activities constituted one "component" of the complete SPECS program, albeit a major one. There were five components in all. Figure 1-2 presents a brief description of the five components written by the developers.

Project members engaged in endless deliberations about just what SPECS was and how to determine whether or not SPECS had been implemented in any particular school district. As a result of those discussions, the five SPECS components were subsequently reidentified as "phases" rather than components. This change in terminology conveniently accounted for the possibility that some school administrators might express an interest in adopting only one particular facet of the program (e.g., its cost accounting and budgeting system).

With an eye toward increasing its acceptance by practicing administrators, SPECS was redefined as an "approach." The essence of SPECS as an approach lay not so much in implementing the set of components as in developing ways to get and use information about discrepancies between educational objectives and accomplishments, between "inputs" and "outputs." Nevertheless, the original five components provide a map for look-

Figure 1-2

The Five Components of SPECS

COMPONENT ONE: A Systems Analysis of the School District
Identification of the district's "operating programs"—a description of its on-going activities and a disaggregation of them to the level at which intensive program planning and evaluation will take place.

COMPONENT TWO: Program Cost-Accounting and Budgeting
Development of the SPECS cost-accounting and budgeting system for monitoring the *actual* and *desired* INPUTS to the district's "operating programs."

COMPONENT THREE: Program Planning, Implementation, and Evaluation
Intensive planning, monitoring, and evaluation of the *actual* and desired OUTPUTS, PROCESSES, and INPUTS of the district's "operating programs."

COMPONENT FOUR: Community-Based Broad Goal Definition
Identification by the district's community of its broad educational goals—the hierarchy of "intellectual programs," each one consisting of a broad goal area and a series of related goal statements.

COMPONENT FIVE: Assessing Achievement of the District's Broad Goals
Determination of the "fit" between the district's professionally-controlled "operating programs" and its community-defined "intellectual programs."

ing at the whole SPECS system as it was originally conceived.

During the pilot study, Component Three, the component involving teacher efforts, became the focus of attention and effort in SPECS, almost to the exclusion of the other four components. By design, however, SPECS calls for participation by groups other than teachers. The burden of making the comprehensive assessment described in Component One belongs to the central office staff, while the budgeting practices central to Component Two are the specialized concern of the district's business manager. The definition of community-based broad educational goals in Component Four provides for formal community involvement in the schools (while assuring that such involvement will not get out of hand). Component Five involves further review and stock-taking of district policies, with a potential for wide citizen and staff involvement.

Activities related to planning the instructional program, putting those plans into action, and evaluating the results clearly involve classroom teachers. Indeed, such activities were dependent on teacher effort for their very existence. Evidence of the pilot study's progress frequently consisted of a simple tally of the number of teacher-generated documents that had been produced to date. At one point the tally showed 250 documents. That, however, is getting ahead of the story. We need to look first at where SPECS came from before we turn to what it became.

The Evolution of SPECS

The collaborative efforts of the developers of SPECS began in 1969, when the second member of the team was recruited to the CASEA staff specifically to work on two new developmental projects. The developers' interests were not identical so much as they were compatible and complementary, and in a general way their personalities and skills exhibited that same complementarity.

The senior developer was especially interested in administrative processes at the school and school district level. Those same interests had been exhibited earlier in his career and they were exhibited again when he left CASEA for another administrative post. "There's no question, he's headed for a deanship," observed a colleague. Interest in PPBS at the school district level may be traced clearly back to him.

The second developer might be described as more of a technician; that very term was sometimes used by colleagues whose assessments ranged from admiring his technical competence to suggesting he was "nothing more than a technician." This man did most of the document preparation, report writing, and liaison work for the project; thus the project's materials and records largely reflect his personal writing style and concern for detail. So, too, the atmosphere of the project reflected his personal style of management, which was variously perceived as thoroughness bordering on meticulousness bordering on meddlesomeness. The direction the project eventually took, with its emphasis on material to be used at the classroom and school level, similarly reflected his interest in the instructional process rather than in central office administration.

Initially the developers of SPECS divided their collaborative efforts between two developmental projects—a smaller one (DAP) that was phased out after four years, and a larger one (DEPS) that eventually escalated to become the SPECS project. One can speculate that, had the whims of funding decisions supported DAP and terminated DEPS, many of the later SPECS activities would have evolved nonetheless. DAP may have been better conceptualized than DEPS; it was certainly more modest in scope. DEPS was no better known than DAP, but it thrived under its politically favorable aegis as a form of PPBS and an answer to the need for accountability.

DAP was a "technology of problem solving." It drew its acronym from the types of information essential to its three phases—*designative* information for describing existing conditions, *appraisive* information about what members of the group feel should be happening, and *prescriptive* information about what to do concerning the discrepancy between what is and what ought to be. Minus only this particular set of labels, the DAP problem-solving technology permeates every SPECS component except budgeting. In fact Component Three, with its emphasis on goal setting, teaching/testing, and review ("recycling"), appears much more closely related to DAP than to earlier federal experiences with PPBS.

The lure of a comprehensive systems approach for organizing public education has captured the imagination of American educators for years, and the adoption of PPBS by the federal government in the mid-1960s provided a new rationale for reviewing its possible applications in education. For a brief period, there was interest in drawng people together for a concerted nationwide effort to investigate PPBS and adapt it for educator use. At the same time, however, different organizations were splitting off to carve out a piece of the action for themselves, using PPBS as a common starting point but going their independent ways.

For whatever reasons, the independent route is the one developers at CASEA eventually followed in designing their special form of PPBS for schools. By the time SPECS had become a local byword, I do not recall hearing references to any other form of PPBS, and allusions to SPECS as a form of PPBS became less frequent. But it had not always been so. Early in their work, the developers made overtures to most school systems or organizations toying with adaptations of PPBS. In their early writings, they made extensive references to PPBS, typically pointing out its desirable outcomes but also raising questions about its application in education. In one article addressed specifically to school administrators, the developers identified PPBS in schools as "a technological approach to educational planning" that can:

> . . . provide educational decision-makers—both teachers and administrators—with a rational, output-oriented, data-based framework or process for systematically relating educational activities to organizational goals and objectives (*In* Jacobson *et al.* 1973:112).

In that article (and all their writing at the time), the developers raised the issue that primed them for discussing the "alternative conceptualization" of their own model, DEPS. The issue was that "PPBS as it is typically conceptualized and implemented tends to bureaucratize rather than open up an organization." Although the teacher might well be involved initially in defining goals and identifying program objectives, they foresaw that once the system was set in motion that same teacher ". . . will be entrapped in a monolithic structure that demands identical performance or output achievement from all teachers of the same grade and subject" (*In* Jacobson, *et al.* 1973:119).

To reduce the bureaucratizing effects of the "standard conceptualization" of PPBS, the developers explained, "DEPS incorporates a unique mechanism which permits the school district to attain its broad goals and at the same time facilitates organizational flexibility and encourages responsibile creativity from each staff member in the district" (p. 123-4). The "unique mechanism" was to identify, not only systemwide goals, but also another "separate but highly interrelated" operating program managed by the individuals or small groups of people (e.g., teachers at the same grade level or teaching the same subject in a particular school) who were responsible for carrying it out. The developers described this as a collegial model that was "based upon the assumption that teachers are employed professionals—rather than simply workers in large, impersonal bureaucracies" (p. 124).

Accountability was to be insured in identifying broad goals and objectives through "maximum involvement of diverse groups" (p. 126). In a standard application of PPBS, those goal statements would have been used to define a district's operating program. DEPS treated the goal statements and operating program as separate entities. The goals statements set the requirements, but professional staff members of the school district were "both free and encouraged to organize themselves into whatever configuration of operating programs they feel will most effectively meet the district's broad goals" (p. 126). The internal processes of the independent and yet "inexorably linked" operating program were described thus (note the influence of the DAP problem solving technology):

> DEPS requires that school district personnel engage in a particular kind of rational, data-based planning of the district's operating programs. . . . The entire planning process is cyclical, involving program personnel in development of an initial plan, implementation of that plan, collection of outcome information, analysis of expected and actual outcomes, generation of alternatives, selection of a new plan, implementation of it, and so forth (*In* Jacobson, *et al.* 1973:124).

The material that I have been citing here was prepared essentially for an audience of principals, so it was important to give particular attention to the role of the principal in implementing DEPS. The developers pointed to two major functions of the principal. The first they identified somewhat euphemistically as an "encouraging" role; the second was the process of "matching" (examining operating programs in terms of broad district goals).

> A building principal . . . will have to take a leadership role in encouraging his staff to submit each of the many ongoing operating programs in which they are involved to much more extensive and systematic planning, data collection, and evaluation. . . . He will have to assist them either directly or indirectly in their efforts to write performance objectives, design evaluation instruments, create alternative processes, obtain necessary resources, and so forth. . . . The building principal is the administrator most able to either facilitate or inhibit development of a school district's operating program. . . .
>
> One of his major responsibilities is that of matching the objectives attained by his school's operating programs with objectives incorporated in the district's intellectual programs [broad goal objectives]. That is, a building principal will be expected to take a leadership role in assessing what the operating programs in his school are achieving, in comparing these achievements with the desired outcomes explicated in the district's intellectual programs, and in informing his instructional staff of the discrepancies which exist between what is being achieved and the desired achievements (*In* Jacobson, *et al.* 1973:127-8).

Their attention to the principal's role gave the developers an opportunity to underscore the difference between DEPS and PPBS: "A principal who simply assigns objectives to each of his school's operating programs . . .

will be implementing not DEPS, but the standard conceptualization of PPBS" (*In* Jacobson, *et al.* 1973:129).

At the time they were writing (probably 1970-71), the developers noted that no single school district in the country had "fully operationalized a PPBS." In spite of their obvious attraction to the possibilities of PPBS and their enthusiasm for the adaptation they had made in developing DEPS, they cautioned against unrealistic expectations for reducing the operating costs of a district ("In fact, the additional time required for planning may actually increase costs" p. 130) and warned their readers of the length of time required to implement such a system.

The developers recommended that interested districts allow five to ten years for DEPS implementation. They noted that one year might be adequate for simply introducing program budgeting and accounting procedures, but they emphasized that the comprehensive system they envisioned would ultimately require all professional personnel in a school district to adopt new patterns of behavior and new attitudes toward educational planning. Although they recognized that five to ten years might seem too slow a pace for bringing about such change, they advised that a slow transition had "much greater promise of success than a strategy which is revolutionary, demands instantaneous change, and ultimately creates dissension and chaos" (*In* Jacobson, *et al.* 1973:130). The developers recommended an "evolutionary strategy . . . characterized by approximation and incrementation."

Field Testing the New Program

At the very time the developers were admonishing their readers about the critical need for an evolutionary strategy in implementing changes of great magnitude, they were cavalierly ignoring their own advice in the nearby school district where they had just begun a field test of DEPS. They had spent one year preparing an initial set of materials and procedures for putting DEPS into operation. At the beginning of the second year of their collaborative effort, they embarked upon a three-year pilot study to implement and test their new program. With but one year of lead time, the first years of the pilot study were frantically busy for the developers. "Dissention and chaos" lurked dangerously near, as we will see in the next chapters.

Conceptualization of the DEPS approach and the first efforts at developing procedures and worksheets began in mid-1969. The developers chose to illustrate the use of the materials by showing their application in a simulated school district that had a specified student and teacher population, a stipulated budget, etc. Recalling a former professor who had the habit of referring to a mythical "West Turkeyfoot" when relating his education lectures to the real world of schools, one developer suggested that the DEPS materials be applied to the problems of "South Turkeyfoot," and so the mythical South Turkeyfoot School District was created. By mere coincidence, it was the superintendent of the South Lane (i.e., southern part of Lane County, Oregon) School District who proffered up his schools for participation in the pilot study after attending a workshop on PPBS in the summer of 1970. Confronted constantly with illustrations and examples from the simulated district, South Lane's teachers sometimes jokingly referred to their school district as South Turkeyfoot.

In the fall of 1971, when the pilot study in South Lane was just beginning its second year, the U. S. Office of Education announced a major shift in funding procedures that would vitally affect every R & D center and every research project. Beginning in December 1972 there would be a new "support policy." Instead of providing block grants to each R & D center as it had been doing, OE announced it would make independent judgments about the merits of funding each project within the various centers. A whole new jargon was introduced in which Basic Program Plans (BPPs) played a critical role. New rules for the funding game required that every project have a beginning and ending date, a carefully worded statement describing the problem it addressed, and a description of the products that would be developed for confronting that problem.

The announcement called for a major stock-taking at CASEA. Choices had to be made to select the projects to subject to the new review process. Those decisions in turn required some realignments of individual skills and interests A ritual attempt was made to have every CASEA staff member propose research or development ideas that either called for the continuation of present work or delved into uncharted areas. In the long run, the result of the review process was that a few existing projects were recast with the necessary new terminology of problem definition, products, and internal "milestone reviews." The latter term refers to a set of reviews scheduled at periodic intervals during the anticipated life of a project. Some staff members referred to them instead as "tombstone reviews," recognizing that henceforth a project's life would never be guaranteed for longer than the interim between milestones.

From DEPS to SPECS

Let me now review how the convergence of these events, personalities, and commitments led to the creation of the "million dollar baby" we were celebrating at the SPECS Party in December, 1972*. Nationwide there was much talk of accountability. The dramatic shift from funding entire R & D centers to funding individual research projects provided ample evidence of how far this trend had already gone. The adoption of PPBS by the federal government was interpreted as an indication of the form that accountability was likely to take.

On the public school scene, the omnipresent feeling that educational spending is always in need of critical review was reinforced by the taxpayer's revolt of the late 1960s. Educators only vaguely familiar with

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* The original projected budget called for about $1.5 million. Actual expenditures throughout the life of the project were about $987,000.

PPBS nevertheless seemed willing to accept the likelihood and even the inevitability of a mandated form of PPBS for schools. Reports circulated within CASEA did little to dispel that feeling; an internal document written in 1972 stated that "Forty (40) state legislatures now require some type of PPBS in schools." Other documents appraised the national scene a bit more cautiously.

In the pilot study underway in South Lane, CASEA had the very type of project that seemed always to be in short supply—an ongoing developmental activity directly engaging school people "in the field." Such a project at least implied a close relationship between the CASEA staff and practicing educators.* The project also satisfied a number of other important criteria. Consistent with the desire for evidence of continuity between past and present efforts, the project represented an endeavor that was already three years old at the time of the funding shift. There was no question of the commitment and effort its two ambitious developers had expended on its behalf and seemed willing to extend indefinitely. (As a matter of fact, their commitment was so clear that the question was raised subsequently by review panelists of whether new personnel proposed for the expanded project staff might be expected to show the same commitment.) The project bore the CASEA director's stamp of approval because of its relevance to the broader issue of accountability and because of the scope of work and diversity of interests it could accommodate.

Clearly the enlarged project was an attractive candidate to become one of several comprehensive research and development programs that would now have to house all of CASEA's activities, personnel, and resources. Their ranks swelled by part-time commitments from four other professional staff members plus the center director, the developers received the green light to prepare an expanded statement of work. The new proposal covered three dimensions: completing development of the materials being tested in South Lane, implementing the new system in a number of school districts throughout the United States, and making an independent appraisal of the consequences of that implementation for school districts and their clientele.

To distinguish new work being planned from developmental work and a pilot study already well underway, the new project was called DEPS II. Even as the proposal was being written, the developers were able to announce that their search for an outside agency to take responsibility for publishing the materials, training new consultants, and generally handling the day-to-day problems of implementation had been a success—"A major private firm, General Learning Corporation (GLC), has recently obtained rights to the materials under USOE policy on limited copyright." The partnership with GLC, a subsidiary of Time, Inc., and General Electric, added further names to the roster of developers and researchers who would now be project associates. It also signalled an endorsement of the project by private enterprise and provided a new distribution of labor that promised to free the developers from the dual responsibility of refining and monitoring the materials as well as "selling" them to school districts.

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* It has been my impression over the years that field-related projects in education are evaluated with an eye to their political value for broadening the R & D constituency and thus are often judged less critically on their intrinsic merits.

Personnel at GLC used a new acronym for the project from the very beginning of their active involvement in January, 1972. Instead of Data-Based Educational Planning Systems (DEPS), they proposed the title "School Planning and Evaluation Communication Systems" (SPECS). That title was later changed to "School Planning, Evaluation, and Communication System" without affecting the acronym. For a while the project and the new proposal were known as DEPS/SPECS, although South Lane teachers were still inclined to use the term DEPS, as they had always done.

In a momentary wave of optimism there was even talk of a future project, "SPECS II." SPECS II was envisioned as a "second generation developmental product" that would blossom following the initial implementation phase of the project and completion of the intensive study of its consequences in cooperating school districts. In recognition of the fact that any elaboration of plans for SPECS II might seem presumptuous while the funding decision for SPECS I was still pending, references to SPECS II quietly disappeared.

The Formal Proposal

In March 1972, after an intensive period of meeting, writing, and rewriting, CASEA submitted the Basic Program Plan for Program R1505, PPBS IN SCHOOLS—ORGANIZATIONAL CONSEQUENCES. The proposed project was planned to extend from 12/1/72 through 11/30/77 and had a total projected budget (including work already completed) of $1,478,302. The new proposal emphasized plans to research the consequences of SPECS as a form of PPBS; particular attention was to be given to formal studies of organizational and client variables. The BPP also called for conducting ethnographically oriented fieldwork in order to produce a "natural history" of SPECS. Of course, attention would be given to implementing the SPECS system (although this was primarily the responsibility of GLC) and to monitoring and refining the materials and training processes.* By no coincidence, the proposal required some part of the time of six professional staff members already in CASEA; in addition, it called for two new staff positions and included provisions for secretarial help and graduate research assistants.

The proposal was examined by field reviewers and subsequently discussed by a panel composed of federal personnel and consulting academicians. The review process prompted a number of oral and written requests for explanation and clarification. In October 1972, a revised addendum was submitted by CASEA in response to a carefully ambiguous preliminary judgment of the proposal that read in part:

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* The proposal also offered an explanation of the anticipated role of CASEA's new internal evaluation unit for providing feedback to the developers.

> The panel agreed that the goals of the program were significant and important; the proposed study should be conducted. The panel recommended that sufficient funds be provided for formulation of a detailed design of research methods and procedures, for development of instruments, and for pre-testing and revision of instruments. The panel recommends that funds for conducting the study be withheld pending review of the detailed design, associated budget and evidence of quality of instrumentation.

The revised BPP, submitted in the form of a supplement, addressed questions relating SPECS to previous work at CASEA, to the DEPS pilot study (by then in its third and final year), and to other forms of PPBS. In addition, the supplement reviewed the kinds of products anticipated in the new effort, discussed the relationship between CASEA and GLC, and described the research design, site selection procedures for the implementation phase of the project, and specifications for the anticipated milestone reviews.

On November 10, 1972, the project, then bearing the title "PPBS in Schools," received the largest negotiated award of all the proposed projects submitted by CASEA. Over one quarter of a million dollars (maximum) was allocated to the project to cover work during the next fiscal year (beginning in 20 days) and tentative support was extended for the maximum possible contract period (three years). Predictably, there were notes of caution (e.g., "You should be aware that the reviewers noted technical questions with respect to the technical quality of all your programs"), of negotiation (e.g. "Renewal of the contract will be contingent primarily on quality of performance"), and of hope (e.g., "It is our hope that the new multi-year contract will make it easier for you to attract and retain high quality staff and plan for the future with confidence").

Although the newly funded SPECS project was in fact a continuation of ongoing work initiated in the development wave of 1969, it had added a new dimension that seemingly gave the whole project a new-and-yet-familiar emphasis—basic research. Freed of some responsibilities as a result of the partnership with GLC, CASEA resources could now be directed toward refining elements of the SPECS system and to learning what happened when that system was implemented in a school distrcit. Four days after the official funding date (December 1, 1972) members of the newly assembled core of the SPECS staff (two developers, the CASEA director, and three researchers) were reminded that only 12 months hence there would be a full review of their research preparations.

The SPECS party held later that month provided an opportunity for the developers to tell new and potential staff members (now grown to a group of ten) what SPECS was all about. It also provided our first opportunity to hear what had been transpiring in the South Lane pilot study.

In the two and one-half years the pilot study had been underway, none of us outside the project had gained more than the faintest understanding of what was happening. Whatever we knew had been gleaned from enthusiastic accounts of the developers, such as these excerpts from an August 1972 report:

> Not only has the Pilot Project led to considerable refinement of DEPS as a district-wide planning and evaluation system and to substantial revision of the DEPS materials, but we have already implemented all or part of four of the five "components" of DEPS. . . .
>
> Already there is some indication in South Lane of an increased orientation to the outcomes of instruction, more communication among teachers regarding the performance of individual students and a desire to develop reporting procedures that focus on actual student behaviors rather than on traditional letter grades.
>
> In addition to expanding and refining operations currently underway—the district's cost-accounting system, its program budgeting process, its planning and evaluation of "operating programs," its development of building-level Program Planning Teams, its increased coordination of SPECS across the district and its development of a community-based, broad-goal hierarchy—we expect sometime next year to begin assessing the match between broad goals and program outcomes.

Included in the orientation activities of the SPECS party was a systematic introduction to the five components of SPECS, a display of the simulated materials for South Turkeyfoot and the materials developed for SPECS workshop demonstrations throughout the country, and a brief discussion of the South Lane pilot test to date. We also watched a 15-minute slide presentation that had been prepared as an introduction to SPECS. The slides, which were meant for use by a coterie of SPECS consultants around the country, were accompanied by a written commentary that could be read aloud or used as a guide in the presentation. The cautious opening words of that commentary mark a suitable point at which to conclude this review of the project's early days:

> SPECS is a highly REACTIVE INNOVATION that has implications for nearly every activity and every individual in a school district. It influences the instructional interaction between teachers and students, the professional interaction between administrators and teachers, the communication between central office and school building, and the relationships between a school district and its larger community.
>
> Because SPECS is a reactive innovation, its implementation requires careful preparation. . . .

Chapter 2

Response:
The Pilot Study's Early Days

> The goal of the pilot project which began in September, 1970, is to implement DEPS in an ongoing school district in order that all concerned can discover if systematic planning, increased accountability, and better use of information do in fact improve the education of youngsters.
>
> —From a project report, August 1971

TECHNOLOGY IS HUMORLESS, so the absence of humor in the annals of the SPECS project is hardly surprising. But the absence of internal humor does not prevent outsiders from poking fun at those who take themselves too seriously. With its grandiose claims and extensive jargon, the project was an easy target for humor on the occasion of its earliest mention in the local newspaper. The following article appeared in October 1970 in the newspaper's regular Sunday supplement. The commentary was based on the report of a school board meeting in one of the many small communities served by the paper.

> COTTAGE GROVE—A complicated new planning system, devised basically to increase the accountability of public school employees and programs, was adopted this week by the South Lane School Board.
>
> The innovative system was proposed by the Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration (CASEA), which is attempting to create for education a Planned Program Budgeting System (PPBS), such as already developed by the Department of Defense (DOD).
>
> In its presentation to the school board, CASEA heralded a new approach to PPBS called Data-Based Educational Planning (DEPS). Consultants for the University of Oregon's (UO) Bureau of Educational Research and Service (BERS) have endorsed the approach, and CASEA hopes the Oregon School Boards Association (OSBA) will do likewise.
>
> School officials also predicted that the approach would be supported here by the South Lane Education Association (SLEA). Information obtained from the CASEA system could reportedly be programmed in

> computers by the Oregon Total Information System (OTIS), which is made available to Lane County Schools by the Intermediate Education District (IED).
>
> In other words, the program involves CASEA, PPBS, DOD, DEPS, UO, BERS, OSBA, *SLEA, OTIS and IED. (Eugene Register-Guard,* October 18, 1970; used by permission).

The news story would have required considerable updating to keep pace with the events described in the previous chapter. The research funding branch of the United States Office of Education (OE) had since become the National Institute of Education (NIE). The name of the expanded DEPS project funded by NIE was changed to the School Planning, Evaluation and Communication System (SPECS). The SPECS materials that had been developed were to be produced and marketed commercially by General Learning Corporation (GLC), a subsidiary of General Electric (GE) and Time, Inc. An updated account might therefore have noted references not only to CASEA, PPBS, DOD, DEPS, UO, BERS, OSBA, SLEA, OTIS and IED but also OE, NIE, SPECS, GLC, and GE. Project staff members could have compiled a supplementary list of other acronyms, especially those pertaining to the plethora of interagency reports requested and required by NIE.

Among these names and acronyms, of course, only a few are of central importance. For this chapter, the three most important elements are 1) the community where the pilot study took place—Cottage Grove; 2) the school district that served Cottage Grove and the large rural area surrounding it—the South Lane School District; 3) and the professional organization of teachers in the school district—the South Lane Education Association (SLEA).

The South Lane School District

The hub of the South Lane School District is the "All America City" of Cottage Grove, Oregon. Motorists who pass by on Interstate 5 know the town mainly for its large motel-resort complex; businessmen know Cottage Grove for its important lumber industry. The author of a contemporary study of the community provides this description:

> Cottage Grove is situated along the "northwest corridor," a commercial channel which runs from Seattle, Washington, to San Francisco, California. The city has been jarred out of its somnabulistic pace of development and has come face-to-face with the stark reality of survival as a community. Small cities of its size (6,000 population and under) are dying under the mushrooming shadows of cities like Eugene, Portland, Seattle, Roseburg, and Klamath Falls. . . . Cottage Grove is just close enough to Eugene to have its existence as an independent community threatened by the markets located there, but it is far enough away to have its own commercial satellites, smaller towns and villages that depend on it (Smith 1972:1).

In spite of bitter resistance from residents living in outlying rural areas, a school district consolidation took place in the sixties that joined a number of small adjacent school districts and the schools of Cottage Grove. The new school district, South Lane School District 45J3, was administered from a central office in Cottage Grove. One high school and one junior high school in town served the entire area. A variety of elementary schools dotted the area, ranging from a modern city school to small rural schools where principals doubled as teachers in antiquated but charming old buildings. Special teachers who served several outlying schools invariably mentioned the number of miles they drove in an average week. Many teachers lived in the Eugene-Springfield area 20 miles to the north and commuted to work, making carpools a potent force in the informal organization of the school system.

This account dwells so exclusively on South Lane's educators and their interaction with CASEA personnel that one principal's statement that, "The biggest hang-up in this town is schools," may appear valid. My own opinion is that the statement is more typical of the way school people view their communities than the way communities view their schools. It is certainly true, however, that educational issues of both professional and personal concern occasionally brought forth excited community response. Some sort of school news made the front page of the weekly Cottage Grove *Sentinel* in about seven of every eight issues, giving the schools the dubious distinction of being the community's primary newsmaker.

The fact that Oregon voters must, in effect, approve their local school district's operating budget each year (because of a low statutory limitation on tax rate increases without voter approval) provides repeated opportunities for every community to signal the extent of its support for schools. South Lane's budget was never among the first to be approved. However, many other communities also needed several attempts to get their school budgets passed in recent years, and issues of particular concern in Cottage Grove (e.g., lingering resentment over the school consolidation, closing or threatened closings of small outlying schools, and the proposed demolition of an old elementary school in town and siting of a new one—with interim plans for busing children "all over God's creation") had their counterparts in other school districts. Indeed, it may be accurate to say that the South Lane schools were as isolated from their community as the schools in most American communities, and that South Lane school people worked about as hard and about as effectively as school people in most districts to effect "community involvement."[*]

It is important to emphasize that in 1969 CASEA's continued funding was contingent on directing more of its efforts to developmental work. In the middle of that year, the two developers had initiated projects designed to be of immediate utility to school people. During that same year the superintendent of the South Lane School District had made his own assessment of the need to better coordinate his schools, to improve the quality of curriculum planning, and to anticipate the growing interest in educational accountability. He prepared a position paper outlining for school board members the needs he saw, and he began searching for a suitable program to help accomplish these objectives. He made a personal visit to San Francisco to examine one such program and received contacts from as far away as Pittsburgh. While attending a summer workshop on program planning and evaluation, he discovered that an attempt to develop the kind of material he sought was being made almost in his own backyard.

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[*] See, for example, the relative attention given to the schools and the kinds of problems that did arise in the study of Cottage Grove provided by anthropologist Sheldon Smith (1972).

The superintendent's attraction to the new CASEA project was certainly no less than the interest the developers showed in him. In addition to the political value of collaborating with a practicing schoolman, the developers were attracted by the convenient size of the South Lane district (3,500 pupils in grades 1-12) and its proximity to the university. If the ensuing marriage of interests was a seemingly perfect one, it followed after a remarkably brief time for courting, and there was a lot of explaining to do afterward. Even three years later, South Lane teachers vividly recalled their surprise on returning from summer vacation to learn that they were engaged in a new experimental program. As the superintendent observed in reviewing the decision with a group of teachers:

> To do a pilot study, we had to be willing to take a risk. Or, I guess I should say, I took a risk on behalf of the district and school board.

The developers stressed the nature of the pilot study as a "cooperative venture," and their own interaction with the superintendent was characterized by a great expenditure of time, energy, and money in order to make the project succeed. With access to the district and the strong backing of the superintendent, it was really up to the developers to make their system work. To that end they attended countless meetings, made numerous presentations, and developed or changed forms and procedures continuously. In the view of some of their colleagues at CASEA, the developers appeared to have assumed a considerable amount of management activity that might ordinarily have been handled at the school district's central office. This was especially true concerning correspondence and public relations materials related to SPECS.

Only slowly did it become apparent to the developers that neither the image of their program nor their own image was completely positive in the eyes of many South Lane teachers. Perhaps the formal channels to which the developers were tuned and the superintendent's enthusiastic support limited them to receiving only positive feedback. Perhaps they were so engrossed with their own problems that they were blind to problems they were creating for others. Or perhaps they merely capitalized on the "honeymoon" (that word was often used to describe the project's early days) as a time of unusual patience and good will.

Two and one-half years later teachers still recalled vivid early impressions of the developers. As one said, "Those guys came on like a couple of hotshot salesmen who had just discovered planning." Another said:

> It seems to me that the guys selling this program were trying to build it up into much more than it was. I distinctly remember one of them. He made quite an impression on me. He was lolling around with a cup of coffee in front of our library as he talked to us. The room was filled with teachers, and I thought to myself, "How's *he* going to make school more businesslike?" But another teacher said to me, "Oh, he's real cool." So that shows you the difference of opinion.

An administrator contrasted some early impressions with later ones:

> When they first came down here and put up the South Turkeyfoot stuff all over the walls, it was just too much. I always thought they were a couple of guys working on their dissertations or helping in some project. One of them, especially, seemed so tied up with this and so proud, like it was some program he had set up for himself. I thought it was all in personal satisfaction in seeing that his baby finally "made it." And I thought that his future is all tied up in this kind of work. But I've liked working with him, and in the past year he hasn't felt he's had to defend or to sell it quite as much as he did at first. And he's given us a lot of help in organization.

It seems remarkable in retrospect that while the funding proposal for expanding the DEPS project was being written and evaluated, nobody from CASEA or NIE thought of going to South Lane to investigate what had transpired there. The developers were available to report what had been accomplished in previous years, and everyone else involved with writing the new proposal already had several other irons in the fire. All that CASEA staff members knew about the pilot study was what the developers reported, and what they reported was their tireless efforts to make the system work.

Like It or Leave It

My first onsite visit early in 1973 left me wonderng if my skepticism toward the project and toward the suitability of PPBS for schools was warranted. In the company of one of the developers and his graduate assistant, I sat in on a couple of meetings at the central office. At these meetings the superintendent and his staff discussed plans and problems in such a way that I could only conclude that the new system must be working splendidly. I heard a group of "principals and teachers" speak enthusiastically in a central office meeting about the program's success, not realizing at the time that the glowing accounts involved just one teacher and one principal.

Next, I attended a school board meeting devoted largely to status reports by special representatives of the community, the administration, and the teaching staff on new developments in the district. Without the benefit of an observation made afterward by one of the developers, I doubt that I would have realized that much of the material presented that evening did not have any relationship to SPECS, and in some cases revealed a clear misconcepion of SPECS' intent. Unfortunately, the board was not privy to the special coaching that I received. Still, things looked awfully rosy.

My previous experiences in schools as both teacher and ethnographer suggested that things probably weren't that rosy. If one wants to find out how teachers feel about something, there are better ways to do it than by listening to their carefully rehearsed presentations in front of the superintendent and school board. With permission of the superintendent and respective principals, I headed off for the old "watering hole" in each of several schools—the faculty room coffee pot. I introduced myself as a university researcher associated with CASEA, independent of the development of SPECS but interested in hearing what people might have to say about it. I got an earful.

All teachers had virtually the same set of basic complaints to make about the program; those with strong anti-SPECS feelings may have used the standard recitation as a way of assessing how defensive I felt about the program. Reactions ran the gamut from people stubbornly opposed to SPECS to those who, equally stubbornly, were determined to make it work. Personal positions were strongly held. Adherents acknowledged weaknesses in the material or questioned the wisdom of following the same procedures for every type of instructional program, yet held fast in their support. Critics allowed that the program might work in other instructional settings but steadfastly clung to personal evidence that it did not work for them.

Antagonism to the way the materials had been imposed within the district was at least as strong as antagonism to the materials themselves. That antagonism had long since been generalized by many teachers to include everything related to SPECS; this unfortunate handicap was now carried along as part of the developmental program. In their zeal to effect a technological change, the developers and the superintendent alike had failed to attend to some corresponding dimensions of human change. Cooperation had simply been mandated. The developers clung to the belief that in spite of resistance to the mandate, teachers would eventually realize that the new system was to their benefit. One developer argued:

> The superintendent imposed SPECS on his teachers. In so doing, he provided them with data that made it possible for them to show him changes needed there in instructional programs. Thus, the program led to greater autonomy.

From the developers' perspective the success of the SPECS program in South Lane was secondary to the opportunity to test and improve the materials. The developmental phase of the project did not require complete success as much as it required successful completeness. The developers tended to treat claims of unprecedented success or forebodings of possible failure equally lightly. During a low point in teacher morale, one developer began preparing his colleagues for the probability that the whole program in South Lane was about to fail; when his gloomy forecast suddenly seemed less inevitable, he returned to his more customary approach of prophesying modest success to local audiences and proclaiming wholesale success to audiences of possible future users. The epitome of such reporting appeared in an *Oregon School Study Council Bulletin* issued in summer 1974:

> Thanks to the creativity, patience, and help of South Lane staff and board members, the three-year project was an extremely successful pilot venture, for not only did it result in a number of accomplishments, including evidence that SPECS could in fact be implemented in an operating school district with benefits to the district, but the project lasted long enough to reveal important weaknesses in SPECS itself, in its materials, and in its procedures for implementing.

"I would not characterize our involvement with South Lane as the best example of an R & D center to involve a school district," a developer once confessed to colleagues, although he personally worked so closely with the superintendent that I heard a reference to the two of them as "academic bedfellows." The superintendent did not have the option of failure; his superintendency was not a pilot venture, and the manner in which he introduced and endorsed SPECS suggested far more personal involvement than one would find in a casual 'trial run.' Stories he related concerning the success of the program or the conversion of recalcitrant teachers were recounted by the developers, although they were quick to caution that the superintendent's commitment unquestionably influenced his perception. For example, a developer once conveyed the following story:

> The superintendent told me yesterday that one teacher who has been critical of SPECS recently came by to tell him that he had realized for the first time that he could see his kids learning. He also felt that SPECS had helped him to get organized as a teacher as he never had been before. He told the superintendent that he would never hear him complaining again. That would be an interesting case to trace down.* It's the kind of testimony the superintendent likes.

Since the superintendent had decided to implement SPECS entirely on his own, other administrators in the district could afford the luxury of a "wait-and-see" attitude. That is the attitude one central office administrator took for the first couple of years. By the end of the third year, however, she felt that more optimism was warranted:

> I feel I can definitely see progress that has been made. I doubt that we could have seen it unless it was SPECS or some other districtwide

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* It wasn't all that interesting but I did trace it down, and it was true—the teacher did in fact give SPECS full credit for helping him get his instructional program organized. Sensing that my interests in SPECS were more academic than personal, he added in somewhat lighter vein that, having now organized his instructional program according to SPECS, he never wanted to go through the process again.

> program. Teachers used to just file their stuff away when we used a scope and sequence approach. Now they're saying, "This planning is *my* planning, and I have the results of how it worked." I hear teachers being surprised that they actually know the progress that kids are making; before this they *thought* they knew, but they really didn't. Now they can better identify kids' problems and kids' progress.

A teacher who described herself as "enthusiastic" about the materials noted, "It helps me help the kids with their skills." She felt that there were other teachers who "feel pretty good toward it." Speaking of the antagonism so widely expressed in the district, she felt that the teachers had "gotten hung up on little things like recopying or not having enough planning time," while forgetting that the program was a pilot project that "needed a chance to jell." Convinced as she was that some form of educational accountability was on the way, she argued, "We're lucky to have time to work with such a program before it's mandated by the state." She also felt that working with SPECS materials had required teachers to work cooperatively and had helped bring everyone closer together professionally.

Criticisms and complaints in varying proportions were aimed at the superintendent as the source of authority, at the developers as the source of the program, and at the underlying assumption that PPBS had any applicability for schools. Some teachers laid the blame entirely on the superintendent for diverting the program from its original intent:

> If this had been left the way it originally started out, it wouldn't have the antagonism it has now. I attended the first training sessions conducted by one of the developers, and I came out of those sessions 100 percent sold. But other people got hold of the materials and made the program impossible. I guess it was the superintendent, adding on requirements and pressure. We never got any idea of pressure at all from the developers—we got the idea that this was really for the benefit of the kids and the classroom.
>
> Somewhere along the line the pendulum really swung. The emphasis is not where it should be—on students—as it was when we were in training. It has gotten distorted. A lot of that comes from accountability. At one meeting we were even told that it would be used as a hiring/firing instrument. Originally it was for a teacher's own use, to sit down by himself and ask, "OK, this worked; this didn't." And then, at the time of recycling, we would ask what can we do differently.
>
> I'm positive the superintendent doesn't have any idea what goes on in this. I once asked him a question about the PED [one of the working documents] and he said, "To be honest, I've never read it."

A number of teachers stated that they felt the superintendent's interest in pioneering a PPB system in the state was related more to his career advancement than to any benefits that the district might derive. At least one teacher saw a ray of hope in the possible success of the program:

> Frankly, I hope the superintendent fails upward. The farther away he gets from us the better. When the whole state goes PPBS, I hope he'll be in charge. He's dealing so much at the higher echelons already that his mind is completely away from the classroom teacher. He just doesn't

> speak our language any more. And that's too bad for a district of this size.

As noted earlier, the manner in which the original decision to implement SPECS was made influenced the way many teachers regarded the materials themselves. One teacher still bristled while describing events that had occurred almost three years earlier:

> It was strictly a railroad job. As a professional person, there are rights and responsibilities of teachers. I should have a say in what is going on in my classroom. If a program is going to go, there should be cooperation. If this had been introduced for us to try, that would have made a difference.

When the program itself, rather than the manner of its implementation, was under fire, there was some confusion as to where properly to lay the blame—on the SPECS materials, on the two developers, on CASEA, or on "the university." One teacher charitably commended the effort:

> CASEA really tried hard, but the developers are so far removed from those of us at the 'peon' level. We're working with kids and people. What they put down should have worked, but it didn't. So it was constantly being changed.
>
> I really don't think much of the problem has been CASEA's fault, except that they took on too much. They might have done better working in one school. I hope they'll find a small district, where one person could look after the whole program.

Many teachers used the terms SPECS and CASEA interchangeably and were surprised to learn that CASEA included persons other than the two developers or that some CASEA personnel were not even interested in PPBS. Discussing ways that the "demoralizing effect" of the SPECS program might eventually be overcome, one teacher suggested the need to change the name of the program: "The word 'SPECS' has really become a bad word—people hate it." Another teacher expressed resentment that CASEA would be "making a profit" when it sold the SPECS material.* When I explained that CASEA did not even come near to recovering costs, he concluded, "Then the taxpayers are being screwed."

The following comments, volunteered in rapid-fire fashion by a group of teachers, reflect the type of criticisms that were leveled at the materials and at the underlying philosophy of PPBS as teachers understood it:

> I've heard teachers say, "I'd quit if I could find another job. Look at all this damn stuff."

* * *

> I can't possibly do all the pretesting. Having these goals, and knowing

---

* To keep the record straight, I should note that the publication of books like this one is not a profiable activity either. Authors receive no royalties on Center publications. Returns from publications that more than meet costs are used to offset costs of those that do not and to subsidize initial publication of new studies.

> what I want to accomplish, this is all good, but if you've been teaching very long, you do those things anyway.
>
> * * *
>
> I teach in the primary grades—if we did all the pretesting we're supposed to, we wouldn't finish until Christmas. But no one would argue with long-range plans. I'm all for that.
>
> * * *
>
> It's the Mickey Mouse in triplicate that gets me.
>
> * * *
>
> Putting monetary values on teaching really offends me. What values do you put on an art lesson? Education is a cumulative thing. What you get in fourth grade is part of what you did in the first three. How can you judge the value of a lesson given today? How can you put a money tag on teaching values? And what if a child doesn't get the lesson today—do I show him as a zero in dollars?
>
> * * *
>
> Why do we spend six to eight years in teacher training? We do it to learn where children are. You can tell that after a child has been in class a day or two. You can be pretty accurate. Besides, a paper and pencil test can't tell you what a child can do. Some children can pass a paper-pencil test on telling time but still can't tell time.
>
> * * *
>
> I can't use the forms. They just don't work for me. We're hitting so many things at one time. I use them simply as a reference. I'd have to have about 15 of them at one time. Maybe this works at the junior high where they just teach *one* subject, but we teach many lessons at once.
>
> * * *
>
> Frankly, the whole thing turns me off. I don't mind the objectives and the performance objectives. But this business of testing and writing! Junk and junk and junk. I just throw lots of it in the wastebasket.
>
> * * *
>
> I think it does force you to individualize, but I'm not all that sold on individualizing in math or reading.
>
> * * *
>
> This whole program looks marvelous on paper, but things just don't work out according to the plan.

Only one or two teachers ever raised the question of whether SPECS really was a form of PPBS, although a number of them did question whether they had actually implemented SPECS. One teacher commented:

> I don't think the public really knows what SPECS is. I don't think the school board really knows what SPECS is. It's a real good question if the teachers even know what it is.

In the course of the pilot study a number of teachers left the district to teach in schools without PPBS, and at least one teacher arrived from a state where another form of PPBS was being used. Stories circulated by administrators reported that several former teachers continued to use the

SPECS format to organize their instruction in their new teaching jobs. On the other hand, stories circulated by teachers claimed that some former teachers had left (and still others were contemplating doing so) because of their disdain for SPECS. With or without SPECS, the district had a high turnover rate; in one pre-SPECS year it reportedly had the highest turnover rate (28 percent) in the state. Stories were also circulated that people who had expressed a dislike for the SPECS program had been told that if they didn't like the program they could look for a job elsewhere. Some were doing just that.

The Longitudinal Study

It is somewhat paradoxical that a supposed communication system failed to provide feedback for those engaged with it, but neither the developers nor the district superintendent had any systematic way of assessing how SPECS was doing in South Lane. There was no apparent effort to subject the implementation of SPECS itself to SPECS treatment by stating precisely what the pilot study's specific objectives were and then measuring the extent to which they were attained. As the end of the pilot study approached, no tangible data had been accumulated about the system. Teachers felt it was curious that the developers failed to solicit their opinions about the materials, and they were convinced that within the district their complaints and suggestions fell on deaf ears.

Although the original developmental project made no provision for the systematic collection of data about SPECS, in Year One of the pilot study a junior member of the CASEA staff was assigned to carry out an independent longitudinal study plotting the effects of the project. Plans called for a questionnaire to be given to all teachers in the district each June during the three school years of the pilot study. In Year Two a second junior staff member was assigned to the longitudinal study (and the questionnaire grew from 9 to 21 pages in length). In order to keep the survey findings from affecting the course of the pilot project, and to assure teachers that their responses would remain confidential (even though teacher's names were written on the questionnaire forms), it was decided that the data collected each year would not be analyzed until after completion of the pilot study.

Quite unintentionally, that decision eventually created misunderstandings and suspicion in every conceivable quarter. Among the teachers, suspicion mounted that the questionnaires might be used to ferret out malcontents. At CASEA, the anxious developers wondered if the possibility of extremely negative results might jeopardize the project's future.

After filling out the questionnaire at the end of the second year, members of the South Lane teachers' organization voiced their growing curiosity about the results. In Year Three of the pilot project, they asked to examine the findings from the survey in order to see whether CASEA's questionnaire data supported their contention that teacher dissatisfaction with the

SPECS project was rampant. In addition, some teachers who had written quite candidly about their feelings toward SPECS believed that they had suffered administrative repercussions; given the close relationship between the developers and the superintendent, there was speculation about a possible leak of questionnaire information. The reseachers insisted that the data had never been analyzed and that no one had access to the questionnaires, but the accusation's impact was little diminished by vigorous denials.

At about this time, the superintendent released a story to the local press describing the success of the SPECS program and claiming staff satisfaction with the new system. The content of that account was suspect, and the implication that the superintendent had evidence to support his claim of teacher enthusiasm fueled teachers' fears that he had seen their written responses. Some teachers suspected that the actual findings were negative and that individuals with proprietary interests in the success of SPECS were counterfeiting results or reporting the data very selectively. CASEA's image among the teachers dropped to a new low, although some face-to-face confrontations eventually convinced teachers that the data were in fact handled as promised.

When the SPECS project suddenly expanded in 1973 to involve additional school districts and new personnel, the developers became anxious about the content of the longitudinal study; they argued that they needed to be advised if the results might eventually raise questions about the value of the project. The atmosphere was curious and tense as the developers realized that the project was growing too big to manipulate at the same time that the stakes were growing.

It is instructive to examine the comments that teachers wrote on those questionnaire forms in order to get some feeling for their reactions to the pilot study. It is also interesting to ponder why the two researchers who designed the questionnaire (and carefully distinguished themselves from the developers) reminded teachers that their answers would be "central to the evaluation of DEPS-SPECS at the end of the intervention" and yet appealed for cooperation on the basis of the need for immediate feedback:

> We need to know your reactions to the DEPS-SPECS Project with which you have been involved. . . . You, as a teacher, are the only source of this information. Your reactions are unique and critical; thus, we hope you will take this opportunity for feedback. If you feel that the project is excellent or in need of revisions, *now is the time to communicate your reactions* (Source: Questionnaire cover letter, Year Two; emphasis added.)

Following is a sampler of teacher comments written on the questionnaires for each of the three years.* I have selected excerpts that illustrate the range of comments rather than their numerical distribution. Some of the comments reflect rather vivid or outspoken views, partly because the questionnaires solicited negative as well as positive reactions. In addition, the time-consuming nature of working with SPECS, teacher resentment of how SPECS had been imposed, the fact that the questionnaires were distributed at the end of the school year, and the very fact of having to fill in the questionnaire all tended to provoke negative responses, even among teachers who were favorable to the overall idea of SPECS.

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* Essentially the questionnaires were designed for rapid coding of multiple-choice items, including yes/no responses, rankings, semantic differential, and Q-sort, as well as standard census items. In the expanded questionnaire of Year Two, the

Teacher Comments—End of Year One

> It has stirred up much negativism among staff and instead of bringing staff close together in a positive manner they seem resentful of how DEPS was pushed on them—the teachers are in a position of trying to actually implement a system which is still theoretical and the pressure is so great to add this new system to an already crowded agenda that many are very suspicious of DEPS. As an intruder which won't really change anything but only add to the burden. One more game to play!

* * *

> I would suggest strongly that on further questionnaires we not be required to identify our names, ages, school, subject, etc. You will find that people will be much more honest in answering if they feel that no threat to their position can come from a questionnaire.

* * *

> DEPS makes the sixth "educational innovation" I have worked with in the past 16 years. All but one was forced on the faculty by an eager ladder-climbing administrator or administrative group and all ultimately failed—with much time, energy, and money wasted, not to mention students' education. All the other programs had some good points for some areas but none were the answer for all. DEPS is no exception to this.
>
> If this program is to have a chance (it may already be too late for Cottage Grove) you had better attempt a program for selling the community and the district faculty on its worth, because they are the ones that are footing the bill in money and time. As of June 11, both were very negative.
>
> If this document seems to be negative it was meant to be. I have used the DEPS concept in my teaching for years and found it to be very effective. I do, however, become tired of changing the vocabulary to fit another brainstorm so that another administrator might get his doctorate or a superintendent might acquire a little prestige that might get him a better job.

* * *

> I believe that DEPS should have great possibilities but did not say so on the questionnaire because I don't feel we got off to a firm enough start. We did get a letter suggesting the use of the minimum objectives formu-

---

number of multiple-choice and ranking items increased from 14 to 30, and the number of open-ended questions increased from 3 to 5. However, many teachers added a generous sprinkling of comments throughout the questionnaires in addition to their answers to the open-ended questions. Their comments provide the source for these excerpts.

lated by a math committee but "suggesting" was not strong enough. Therefore, each school and each teacher "did his own thing." So, we will have nothing to learn from in the next year.

I feel there is much opposition to CASEA because many of the teachers feel you and the administration impose on us as far as this program is concerned.

* * *

Some people feel it is a waste of time and won't put forth the effort necessary. They find trivial imaginary faults to fasten on, instead of making an honest effort. There has been a lack of understanding about precisely what this project is expected to accomplish. No one wanted to admit that this was only a trial of a theory. They acted like their whole life depended on it and were not willing to make a few false starts and mistakes in order to make the idea work.

* * *

"Consultants" have been poorly selected and trained and are of no help in preparing PPDs, etc. Each teacher has a different opinion about DEPS, PPDs and performance objectives. Concise, easily understood written material would greatly aid teachers and eliminate the need for 90 percent of the "consultants."

DEPS technicians are trying to computerize intangibles such as professionalism or the long-range effect on a student or teacher's influence. We may see a possible loss in good teachers who feel they are being forced to teach as the group teaches.

* * *

Parents are unhappy because children are sent home early to give teachers time to work on it.

* * *

DEPS at the high school has already caused a good deal of disruption. Formerly there was a vigorous, positive mood among the staff; the entire curriculum was revamped and revitalized, the students felt something new and important was happening, the philosophy of the school was changing. Everyone was working on new courses, new materials, new directions. The work involved with DEPS, the threat of some kind of merit pay and evaluation process to be carried out by some machine [computer] in Eugene, all created a negative atmosphere and combined with other things to destroy the morale at all levels. Under other circumstances the discipline and rigor of a performance-objective-oriented curriculum development might have been very stimulating.

* * *

This type of system should help to remove much of the deadwood among educators; that is, those that simply show up for a salary.

* * *

If they use it right, it makes teachers look hard at what they are teaching and why. I felt it was of real benefit to me in making out my programs. Students will really benefit from this long-range planning. I found I was lax thru inertia. This really tightened up the ship!

* * *

It's too much like "the perfect cookbook" which doesn't allow for individual temperments, talents, ideas, etc., or for time to succeed, fail, or stand still. On the basis of what we've seen so far, it amounts simply to

> prove that "cookbook recipes" work. If students and teachers were all identical, it would be an ideal program. Perhaps with time and further development, this *will* be a good thing. In the meantime, I'm watching too many people try to get around the rules of the game with sublevel nonsense. I know I haven't successfully gotten all my aims and goals for students written into the program, because the form makes no allowances for the human idiosyncracies that so deeply affect classroom education. Aagh—the perfect system
> the perfect student
> the perfect teacher.
> Could this seriously, actually, *really* be plugged into another school? It's too loosely employed for this initial year. See my comments on the back page. If you don't understand my explanation, please feel free to call me at my home [phone number provided]. I am really interested in the project.

* * *

> There are several weaknesses in this program. (1) Attempting to cover all subjects with a blanket program. (2) It has made glorified bookkeepers out of faculty instead of allowing them to teach. The main drawback is not with the program so much but the way the administration volunteered the services of all teachers without their knowledge.

* * *

> The superintendent and school board lack both the ethical standards and the intelligence to use this potentially powerful tool wisely. You have given DEPS to fools. Couldn't you see that? I am sure that (1) it will be misused, and (2) the teachers will quickly learn how to "cheat and win"—out of necessity.

* * *

> The program insists that students learn *facts* rather than concepts and attitudes. Our educational system is already too fact-oriented. This program appears to set education back 70 years. In addition, there is no experimental control to judge how the program is working. We have no way of comparing this method with "standard" teaching methods.

* * *

> I feel the results of evaluation could be held over a teacher's head if not as satisfactory as administration would hope for. I also feel that in the future, if not handled correctly, the important thing about DEPS could become the paperwork and not the actual reason for using the program in the first place.

* * *

> This system has been superimposed upon the individuals. However, I feel that any system such as this would not be voluntarily chosen by a district staff; therefore it must be thrust into effect by management.

Teachers Comments—End of Year Two

At the end of the second and third years of the pilot study each teacher who completed the questionnaire received ten dollars. The payment was intended partially as a gesture of goodwill, in recognition of the fact that complaints about the time necessary to complete SPECS documents were mounting and would undoubtedly influence questionnaire responses. However, feelings were running strong in the second year and some teachers flatly refused to fill out questionnaires "even for ten dollars." The return rate in the second year was the lowest of the three years. For some teachers the ten dollars (plus individually stamped reply envelopes addressed directly to CASEA) was another example of the extravagance of the whole program.

> The cost in terms of time and money of this program is very disturbing to many staff members. For example, the $10.48 plus cost of duplicating this questionnaire was upsetting. I believe many teachers would have done it without pay. I would have, but wouldn't dare now, as it would be unfair to others.
>
> Teachers also fear the repercussions of the project. South Lane is a paranoid district in terms of job security anyway, and no one seems to feel this program or merit pay will in any way increase their security. They also do not seem to believe this questionnaire will be kept confidential!

Questionnaire items inquiring about the best and worst features of DEPS-SPECS* showed some pattern of responses. The best feature was often identified as planning, either for the teacher's own use or to help guide substitute teachers. The nominations for worst feature ranged widely, but many teachers responded with variations on the theme of "communication," as illustrated by such comments as the following:

> We need greater communication between teachers in general and the staff of PPLs [Program Planning Leaders]. Also we need more explanation and discussion of the desired goals of the program. Being told that "We have contracted for this program and are committed to using it" does not inspire me to give it my full support.
>
> We need to get teachers and administrators together and have an *honest* discussion about where we go from here. It seems to me that there isn't much honesty when central office administrators and teachers and principals discuss the positive and negative values. Teachers feel that their jobs are associated with DEPS and so they go along with the administration.
>
> This system does hold teachers accountable and teachers need to be held accountable. It also encourages individualization and supplies a good working blueprint for the year.
>
> But the stupid people making it up keep switching from one weird form to another, confusing the heck out of me and filling my afternoons with busywork I don't need. I also keep getting the feeling that I'm supplying the research for someone's Ph.D. degree, which I really resent. Also, our DEPS leader isn't too cool.
>
> * * *
>
> DEPS could be improved by better communication with the teachers. I'd like the feeling that someone that knew what was going on had time to sit down and evaluate the DEPS documents of the teachers at my grade level at my school. Pat us on the head for the good parts and show

---

* The cover letter in Year Two reminded teachers of the name change during the year but instructed, "Although the name is changed, please consider the events of the entire year and consider DEPS-SPECS as a single program."

> us how to improve the bad parts. Prove to use that someone really cares about our particular DEPS project—that this isn't just busywork.

Each year there were a few teachers who limited their responses to marking the alternatives provided on the questionnaire or adding only the briefest of comments (e.g., "Drop DEPS-SPECS"), and there were others who penned (or typed) long notes or even returned formal letters with their questionnaires. Here are some excerpts from a questionnaire on which the respondent had added notes on 12 of the 21 pages:

> Problems have originated from the lack of administrative receptivity to teacher pleas for a simplified approach to DEPS, with less bureaucratic red tape and adequate time to write programs and compile data. . . .
>
> The administration tells teachers that DEPS was implemented in order to improve teaching programs, but the board says it was implemented to compare teaching programs, and hence, to compare teachers. . . .
> DEPS is a common sense, business-like, scientific approach to doing a task:
>
> 1. Set goal
> 2. Determine the distance from the goal
> 3. Choose a process to achieve the goal
> 4. Institute the process
> 5. Determine progress toward the goal
> 6. Analyze progress, process, and goal
> 7. Recycle
>
> *But: we are becoming mired in gobbletygook.* It was pure horse manure to take 19 pages and 55 items in a PPD to cover the above seven points. Was somebody trying to make the system more impressive by making it more complicated?
>
> *And: There is the cost of time to the teacher.* This goes hand in hand with the degree of complication of DEPS. DEPS is really nothing more than a bookkeeping system, but the more complicated you try to make the system, the more time it requires. You have not afforded teachers enough time between 8:00 and 4:00 to teach and also keep books. I am sick to death of spending my nights and weekends working on schoolwork and DEPS.

At the end of the questionnaire the respondent had written, "Thanks for listening."

Teacher Comments—End of Year Three

I joined the project staff several months before the questionnaire for Year Three was to be distributed, and was able to prepare questions of my own for inclusion in the final survey. I added three open-ended questions. I invited teachers to provide any overall reactions to DEPS-SPECS, to mention any problems unrelated to SPECS that we might have overlooked, and to note any particular advantages of teaching in the district. My intent in asking the last two questions was to learn more about the context of SPECS as teachers saw it. However, by the time teachers had completed the preceding 21 pages of questions on SPECS-related concerns, they were inclined to focus their comments on the pilot study. The following excerpts are from responses to my questions and from comments written elsewhere in the questionnaires:

> SPECS, or something similar, is needed—not just for accountability, but to plan a better program for student learning activities.
>
> * * *
>
> SPECS has by far been of great professional value to me because it has forced me to question my behavioral objectives and to list realistic goals in my program.
>
> * * *
>
> I like the basic idea of SPECS but am frustrated by the pressures of doing what doesn't benefit my classes. My teaching was probably the worst ever this year. I am disappointed in what I did in my classes but I didn't have time to do both SPECS and teaching.
>
> * * *
>
> Teachers have responded to SPECS requirements because of pressure from above only. SPECS hasn't improved instruction for good teachers, or poor teachers (they don't give accurate reports). Students are "turned off" by so damn much testing (pre and post in all areas).
>
> So much paperwork and planning so far in advance that it isn't practical and used effectively. Teacher morale is quite low. This would be more apparent if jobs weren't so scarce.
>
> * * *
>
> We are working with students—not geared to "goose-stepping" pupils who must work up to expectations as outlined by SPECS.
>
> * * *
>
> I feel that the SPECS program was pushed on us. Many of the teachers in this district have been told that it was either do the program or lose your job. Any time that this is done there is bound to be a negative reaction.
>
> * * *
>
> Accountability and written objectives or goals will be required of all districts in the near future. South Lane may be fortunate in having an early start. State and graduation requirements are changing.
>
> * * *
>
> I have known of teachers who left South Lane because of SPECS. Likewise I have heard unconfirmed stories of prospective employees staying away from South Lane because of SPECS.
>
> * * *
>
> I think the testing program will force teachers, even good teachers, to teach to the tests and overlook other concepts and areas equally important. There are many areas that cannot truthfully be tested and equaled. These are two damaging aspects of the program.
>
> The administration's attitude is often one of completing the programs and documents as they are—no modifications to fit subject area, program, etc. The inflexibility of PEDs, along with the administration's desire to appear efficient and accountable to the district and community in spite of teachers' desires to make the program more adaptable to their particular teaching situation, can be and has been a demoralizing effect on faculty members.

> The lack of honest, open give-and-take of opinions, complaints, suggestions. There is extreme reluctance by most teachers to voice true feelings to administration or to the administration's stoolies.
>
> * * *
>
> SPECS has caused improved curriculum planning within the school. It's something that was needed for a long time. It increased the amount of communication between teachers.
>
> * * *
>
> The biggest problem with this program is that most teachers see it as more useful to administrators/evaluators than to teachers.
>
> * * *
>
> We need a change in administration—one that would understand children and would keep their hand in once in awhile. It should be compulsory that all levels of administration be required to handle children and parents on a regular basis. They sit in their offices year after year and deal only with sheets of paper—names and figures in type. We are dealing with human beings, *not* factory products.
>
> * * *
>
> We have been forced by our district (the superintendent) to go along with the popular trend in education that calls for a high degree of accountability and dehumanizing objectivity.
>
> How much time have we already taken from students? And I'm not doing anything different anyway. SPECS is not going to make me a good teacher.
>
> In three years it hasn't changed at all. The experiment is over. Thank God!

Some teachers included comments about their relationship with CASEA. One teacher asked, "Why have we never seen the results of earlier questionnaires as stated we would?" Two teachers responded to my printed invitation to comment about DEPS-SPECS by asking in turn, "Who listens?" To the question, "Would you care to discuss the most critical problems?" a teacher replied:

> No. I listed a lot last year and I feel the teacher's suggestions about the SPECS Program have been ignored by CASEA and generally considered negative by our principal.

An introductory statement, "This is the final questionnaire planned in our evaluation program" prompted one teacher to underline those words and add in bold script, "Hallelujah! One more time-consumer gone!" Another teacher's reaction to that same message was: "Help! Are we being formally divorced from CASEA?"

In general, the comments on the final questionnaire reflected the cumulative experience of the entire three-year pilot study. The comments excerpted below provide a different picture by examining some of the specific details that contributed to difficulties in the third year:

> This year has been a great disappointment SPECS-wise. Many of us PPLs had worked hard to bring about a working acceptance of SPECS last year. At the first meeting this year we spelled out some of the needs:

> time, coordination of program, coordination of efforts, a system that enabled the teacher to handle the individualization aspects of SPECS that are far more time-consuming than the writing of the program PEDs themselves, clarification of expectations for teachers and PPLs, clarification of responsibilities for interschool program development, scheduling of practical idea exchanges at the primary and intermediate level with sufficient clerical help to prepare for them.
>
> These are some of the things that should have and could have been done this year. Nothing was done. . . .
>
> There are some good aspects to the program, but this year the negative ones far outweighed them.

The SLEA SPECS Committee

In recounting the events of the final year of the pilot study, one additional group needs to be introduced—the South Lane Education Association's SPECS Committee (hereafter referred to as the SLEA SPECS Committee or simply the SPECS Committee). I trust that the sample of volunteered written comments taken from the three-year longitudinal study conveys the ever-mounting antagonism toward SPECS felt by at least some of the district's teaching personnel. As teachers gradually became aware that problems and anxieties related to SPECS were affecting teachers throughout the school district, and they realized as well that their concerns went largely unheeded by the administration, they began to discuss ways to deal with the issue as one of collective professional concern.

Although working through their own formal association may seem an obvious way for teachers to have organized their concern, it is necessary to consider the complexities of that course of action. First, in small school districts interpersonal relationships traditionally extend into other community spheres. Just as school people prefer to picture themselves as part of the community rather than as its antagonists, so within their own ranks educators prefer to present a united front of all-for-one commitment to educating the community's youth. The very recognition of SPECS as a problem clashed with these impulses by drawing attention to a rift within the school district. Second, the district's principals were members of the teachers' organization, and the high school principal, who was perceived as being pro-SPECS, happened to be president of the organization during Year Three of the pilot program. Obviously, a problem involving opposition between teachers and administrators was difficult to approach with the high school principal in the president's chair.

The problem was approached obliquely—and successfully—early in the 1972-73 school year through an associationwide survey designed to identify the most important problems facing the district. No one was surprised that SPECS was listed among the top ten problems. The SLEA Executive Committee appointed a respected spokesman from the high school faculty to form and chair an official SLEA SPECS Committee to "identify individual teacher problems with the program and make teacher recommendations to the administration concerning SPECS."

The chairman formed his committee by inviting any SLEA member who was interested in the problem to meet after school in the high school library on a Tuesday afternoon in March, 1973. Rather expectedly, most teachers who responded to the invitation had strong anti-SPECS views. Two pro-SPECS elementary school principals also attended the gathering, and when subsequent meetings were held at the same location, the high school principal often dropped in. Nevertheless, the chairman made a concerted effort to pursue the problem from a teacher perspective. He also sought to expand committee representation to include teachers more favorably inclined toward SPECS, on the assumption that the recommendations of a balanced committee might be better received in any confrontation with the superintendent or school board. More than one committee member later remarked on the difficulty of finding "even one" teacher totally supportive of SPECS, but at times the committee had as many as three members who felt that advantages of the system outweighed its problems. The fact that one of the pro-SPECS members, an elemenary school teacher, was the wife of the high school principal seemed considerably to complicate the process, but the committee pursued its task with remarkable objectivity and integrity. The committee conducted its work exactly as outlined in the following notice sent to the designated association representative at each school:

> It was decided to visit each school and discuss with the teachers what the teachers believe the strength and weaknesses are of the present SPECS program. Individual problems with the implementation of the program will also be heard.
>
> These rap sessions will probably result in a detailed questionnaire developed by the SPECS Committee and sent to each staff member so that the percent of common areas of concern may be determined. This information will be given to the administration along with recommendations for changes if any are needed.
>
> Five members of the SPECS Committee will visit with each school: the committee will have members from elementary, junior and senior high staffs and will have people who are both enthusiastic and skeptical about SPECS. They will take notes from the discussions and compare them with notes from other schools. Names will not be mentioned and no administrators will be present at the discussions.

I had begun my research on the status of SPECS only two months before the committee's formation, and it occurred to me that observing its deliberations would be a fieldworker's dream-come-true. I first learned about the committee from the superintendent, when he casually mentioned that it was "one of several committees established to study pressing problems." He interpreted the committee's slow start in March as an indication that problems with SPECS were not nearly so pressing as a few critics seemed to suggest. When asked if he knew who the committee members were, the superintendent said he did not have a list but could "pretty well guess" who was on it.

I waited until the new committee was discussed in a teacher conversation before attempting to locate its chairman, since I did not want to appear to have been directed to the committee by the superintendent. When I talked to the chairman, he inquired whether my research was being conducted with the knowledge and permission of the superintendent. I said that it was. He agreed to let me sit with the committee if the other members did not object. Subsequently I noticed that whenever I was introduced by committee members my training in anthropology was usually emphasized over my association with CASEA.

My constant note-taking while teachers griped away to subcommittee members visiting their schools provoked no apparent concern. Somehow my frequent appearance and my designated role as a disinterested (i.e., non-SPECS, non-school district) observer seemed to provide some validation of the committee's efforts. Although I repeatedly reminded committee members that my material would not be available in time to help them, they also realized that in my report lay a hope for someday setting the record straight about the course of PPBS in South Lane.

I had not intended to intervene in the committee's proceedings. But as I realized how the resources of CASEA had been made so singularly available to the district's central office for imposing the program, rather than to the district's teachers, who were being forced into it, I took another tack. (Recalling Paulo Friere's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, I felt that here I was witnessing the "oppression of the pedagogues.") As the committee prepared a questionnaire for polling all SLEA members—in order to assess the prevalence of problems and opinions expressed by more outspoken teachers during the visits to individual schools—I made sure that the committee had access to CASEA expertise to help them in preparing and scoring their questionnaire and in analyzing their data.

As the most vehement critics of SPECS feared, the survey results (with a 92 percent return) did not support the charge that SPECS was a complete catastrophe. But neither did the results show SPECS to be the unmitigated success proclaimed by the superintendent. Committee members paid particular attention to the distribution of answers to the question, "Do you think the cost in terms of time, money, and effort justifies the continuation of the present SPECS program?" The responses to that question ran against SPECS about five to two, as the following figures show:

Yes	37	(24%)
No	96	(62%)
No response	23	(15%)
	N = 156	(101%)

The evolution of one particular questionnaire item is worthy of note. In spite of the annoyance teachers felt toward the annual CASEA questionnaire, members of the SPECS Committee were not only influenced by the general design of that questionnaire but copied a number of items directly from it. One question that they decided to borrow asked respondents to rank-order the beneficiaries of the SPECS program from a list including building principals, students, the school board, the superintendent, teachers, and district residents. The committee felt this item would test the suspicion that SPECS was doing far more for the superintendent's career than for teachers or pupils. During the discussion of that item, one committee member suggested that CASEA also be added to the list of beneficiaries, since many critics felt the developers were pursuing their own purposes rather than attempting to produce a program with a lasting effect on teaching and learning.

In the analysis of teacher responses to the item, the superintendent ranked first as the main beneficiary of SPECS. CASEA ranked a close second. Building principals ranked third. In a report summarizing the results of the teacher questionnaire for the superintendent, the chairman of the teacher SPECS Committee wrote, "The students should be the chief benefactors of any program in the district, yet they rank only fourth on the question of who will benefit the most from the SPECS system."

A report reviewing the SPECS Committee's proceedings and the findings of the survey was presented in writing to the superintendent following the end of the pilot study at the end of Year Three. Subsequently those members of the committee who were still available during the summer met with the superintendent one evening to discuss the report. The committee's recommendations called for "rectifying the demoralizing effect the SPECS program has had on the staff" and for providing more time, more flexibility, and more options. During a long and intense (but not unfriendly) evening session, the superintendent repeatedly referred to what he called a "communication gap." He promised to look into the problems and report back to the committee as soon as school started in the fall.

After the meeting, members of the SPECS Committee stayed late to discuss the superintendent's reaction to the meeting and to their formal survey and report. Before the discussion got started, the chairman offered his own brief summary—"It looks like SPECS is going to stay."

A month later one of the project developers made a presentation before the superintendent and school board reviewing the three-year pilot study. His review included only vague allusions to "working out problems together" and made no mention of the SLEA SPECS Committee or of SPECS-related problems in the district. In responding to the developer's request for a formal motion acknowledging completion of the pilot project, one board member commented that he felt the SPECS program was the greatest advancement to education that he had observed during his tenure on the board.

Chapter 3

Challenge: The Pilot Study's Later Days

> A designated social system, or utopia, is a machine and suffers from the machine's defects. Such a social system may be saved, however, by *unprogrammed* disobedience by human beings.
>
> —V. Thompson (1969:59)

WEEK AFTER WEEK teachers watched for signs that their complaints about SPECS, now formalized into a comprehensive statement and supported by the results of their survey and a list of specific recommendations, would be addressed. The July 1973 confrontation with the superintendent was intended as the finale to their efforts of the previous spring, not as the opening volley of a continuing battle. Patiently they sat back and waited. They so relaxed their vigilance that they failed to monitor the August board meeting at which CASEA and the district formally concluded the three-year pilot study (after duly acknowledging its success). They were disheartened when directives distributed to all district staff members at the beginning of the new school year included not only additional information about SPECS formats and procedures but also a deadline for preparing objectives in the "affective domain."

Only slowly did the teachers realize that nothing was going to happen as a result of the SPECS Committee's efforts. There was a softening of central office mandates, but by the beginning of the fourth year so much of the instructional program was already in the SPECS format that much of the pressure on teachers was abating of its own accord. Rather than cooling SPECS as an issue, the central office had seemingly decided on "cooling out" its teachers by appeasing them.*

The superintendent had insisted on more time to come to grips with the problem and had quickly identified an underlying cause in the "communication gap." Coupled with the fact that teachers were busily involved with getting a new school year underway, such verbal assurances sufficed to nurture teacher patience and optimism for awhile. Some teachers anticipated an imminent change in the name of the program ("to get rid of the negative image of SPECS and CASEA") and predicted that over the next three years SPECS would be discarded as a districtwide program. One teacher suggested, "If it takes three years to implement a system, maybe it takes three years to 'deimplement' it."

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* See Goffman 1952 for a discussion of "cooling out."

Months later a teacher reviewing the ensuing course of events noted, "The whole thing could have been avoided last July if this had been handled differently. We really hit a brick wall then. After that, we had to look for other ways to function." The possibility that their efforts might not precipitate any administrative response had been considered from the very moment the teachers had decided to conduct their own study. As a member of the SPECS Committee explained to the staff of one school:

> We seem to be getting two different stories: one goes to the administration, one goes around the coffee pot and water cooler. So we want to hear from you and then develop a questionnaire to send to all teachers. Then we will make some recommendations. If nothing happens, we'll go to the board. This isn't going into the round file [wastebasket]. We're putting too much time and effort into it.

There were, of course, some teachers who felt quite strongly that the SPECS Committee was indeed putting too much time and effort into its vigil. A teacher who quit the committe after serving only briefly expressed some reservations about the underlying motives of its energetic nucleus:

> I was on this "vigilante committee" looking into SPECS. I realized that the committee was using SPECS to get at some other problems in the district. They were using SPECS as a tool. Some things that happened through SPECS would have happened anyway. They didn't happen because of SPECS.

Conscious of varying degrees of support for its activities, and fearing that many teachers might not care whether the issue was pursued further, members of the SPECS Committee decided to poll the teachers before renewing their efforts. In October each teacher received a one-page report from the SPECS Committee. It stated that the superintendent had made no effort to meet with the committee and noted that he had reported to the school board that although there was "some teacher frustration" the program was going well. Teachers were asked to indicate whether they preferred to accept the superintendent's report and disband the SPECS Committee or to "report the results of our questionnaire to the school board and ask to discuss the results and our recommendations with them in an open meeting with media present."

The chairman of the SPECS Committee explained, "Unless we have 70-75 percent saying pursue it, I'd be reluctant to go at it. We need a strong mandate from the staff." He correctly predicted a 95 percent return of teacher questionnaires; of those responding, 87 percent favored going directly to the school board. The vote was interpreted as a call for action and a testimony to the fact that SPECS did warrant a fight. One teacher commented, "I guess this SPECS thing is going to continue until somebody gets busted."

Battle Lines

SPECS became the battlecry, but there was no accompanying battle plan. The idea of "going to the board" was not a strategy so much as it was a logical next step without other apparent alternatives. In one sense, going to the board was perceived as futile. Teachers suspected that the superintendent had systematically provided the board with arguments in favor of the new system and had probably told them that teacher resistance would be a sign that the program was successfully forcing teachers to become more accountable. Although teachers felt that board members needed to get another side of the story, they wondered among themselves if more information would make any difference to a board already sold on SPECS. As one teacher reflected, "I expect the board pretty much to rest with the decision they have made. After all, what do you do with a decision that has already been made, 'undecide' it?"

The teachers hoped that the findings of their extensive survey, presented to the board by a virtually unanimous mandate of their professional association, would have a startling impact. They expected to reveal findings at once unpleasant and totally surprising. It had not occurred to them that the superintendent might have informed the board about the teacher survey immediately upon receiving it, several months before the teachers distributed copies on their own behalf to board members.

The "cooling out" process continued even into the board meeting. The teachers made a bid from the floor to make their presentation about SPECS, but the discussion was postponed because of an "already-crowded agenda." Teachers who had attended the meeting especially for the SPECS discussion whispered their amusement at the trivial agenda items that preempted their opportunity to address the problems of SPECS. At one point a teacher joked, "That same item has been on every agenda for the last ten years." Another teacher predicted, "At the next meeting, board members will come armed to the teeth."

When teachers were permitted to make their formal presentation at a subsequent meeting, their case seemed weakened by the delay. Far fewer teachers attended to lend moral support to their official spokesmen. Moreover, a spokesperson claiming to speak for 20 junior high school teachers was present to refute the conclusions of the SPECS Committee report, to present a counter-petition to that report, and to commend the SPECS project. Members of the SPECS Committee felt they had hit another brick wall. One member commented:

> I had no idea how sold the board is. They aren't the least bit interested in our gripes. They're convinced that something like this is coming for everybody in five years. You realize how thoroughly they have been indoctrinated by the superintendent and CASEA.

In spite of their skepticism about how the board might react to their case—and considerable ambiguity about how to present it—members of the SPECS Committee prepared a "study package" that was delivered to each board member before the meeting. The package included a summary of events preceding and following formation of the SPECS Committee, a copy of the teacher questionnaire (with a handwritten breakdown of responses to each item), a copy of the teacher comments from the questionnaire, and a copy of the letter to which 87 percent of the responding teachers had indicated their preference for going to the board. The package also contained the following questions (narrowed down from an original list of 19) which the teachers offered for "serious consideration";

1. Should an educational program be continued if the teaching staff believes the superintendent, one principal, or CASEA will be the primary benefactor of that program while the students of South Lane are ranked only fourth on a list of seven beneficiaries?
2. Do you as a school board member think that the use of threats to the teaching staff for compliance is an ethical administrative technique for achieving genuine acceptance of and a sincere willingness to implement a program in which students are expected to be the number one beneficiary?
3. Should an educational program that adversely affects the morale of 75% of the teaching staff be continued?
4. Any experimental program needs to be evaluated before it is adopted and funded into the system. Who do you believe is in the best position to judge the success of an experimental program—the creators of that program or the people who have been implementing it?
5. Should a program continue when a very sizeable majority of those responsible for implementing the program indicate that they believe that the cost in terms of time, money, and effort does not justify the continuation of the program?

It was not at all clear to the teachers where they could take their case next. They wondered if their decision to bring the matter before the board differed very much from the decision to bring it before the superintendent, since he sat with (and in the middle of) board members at formal meetings. In attempting to address the board, they found themselves face-to-face with the superintendent both figuratively and literally. SPECS seemed to have divided the district in two, with teachers on the one hand and the superintendent and administrators on the other. That division was complicated, however, by the presence of some pro-SPECS teachers and a few administrators who seemed sympathetic with teacher antagonism toward SPECS.

As the lines became more clearly drawn for battle, neither side chose to blame the district's problems solely on personal styles or personal inadequacies. Each side acknowledged that the battle over SPECS was complicated by larger issues, including rather entrenched positions regarding accountability. Nonetheless, accusations sometimes did call attention to individual motives, personal judgments, and character flaws. The teachers sensed a relationship between the success of the pilot study and the personal careers of the superintendent and the project developers at CASEA. Those that equated SPECS with CASEA saw the project's success as essential to the very existence of the center.

Both sides also saw the district's experience with PPBS as a critical stage in the movement toward requiring similar procedures on a statewide scale, and they recognized that success of the SPECS project would pave the way for wider implementation. The superintendent suspected that the campaign being waged against SPECS by the SLEA was linked to the state teachers' organization and that the latter's interest was in turn linked to the National Education Associaion. The superintendent could well agree with a teacher who observed, "The whole state's looking at us now."

Who Can I Turn to When Nobody Heeds Me?

Reporters from the area's two newspapers provided the teachers' first breakthrough in garnering broader sympathy for their side of the SPECS story. The teachers' decision to go to the press was probably the one and only planned strategy in their campaign. From the inception of the SPECS Committee, there had been discussion of "going to the community," but oldtimers on the staff argued that such a move would have an element of risk:

> I don't think the community would understand what this is all about and they might not support us. You can't trust [i.e., count on] them. And they like having things specific.

From the media, however, teachers felt they would receive sympathetic support that would help them publicize their case. Dissident teachers felt that anyone who knew about the disruption and discontent caused by SPECS would be sympathetic to their cause; time and time again they reiterated that the intent of their interviewing, their questionnaires, and their arguments was to give the problems a fair hearing. They felt that the press would be eager to pick up their story and owed them the courtesy of coverage after printing the superintendent's glowing account of SPECS without ever checking with teachers. When the SPECS Committee polled teachers in October 1973 about whether to drop the matter or take the case directly to the board, the questionnaire explicitly stated that the latter option would occur at "an open meeting with media present."

If at times committee members fantasized about television cameras whirring while they aired their charges, they were at least correct in their assessment that the newspaper reporters who regularly covered all school board meetings—one from their own community's weekly paper, the other from the region's daily—would be interested and would probably be sympathetic. In November, when the teachers had finally mustered their arguments, their forces, and their courage for a presentation before the board, only to be denied a place on the evening's agenda, the only formal objection in support of the petitioners was made by a reporter.

> *Reporter*: Why won't the board discuss the SPECS issue? This appears to affect the teachers and the pupils in the district. Why can't it be discussed?
>
> *Board Chairman*: We are going to discuss it—at the next board meeting. We aren't prepared to discuss it tonight.

On the assumption that SPECS was to be discussed, copies of the study package prepared for the board had been given to the press just before the meeting. While the board plugged away at its long agenda (discussing a swim meet, fuel costs, 4-H programs), reporters sought more details about SPECS from teachers seated in the audience. The following evening the regional daily newspaper carried an article with the headline "South Lane Issue Flares." The article described "a slowly brewing squabble between teachers and administrators over an education evaluation program" and noted the board's refusal to discuss the issue, "despite pleas from [a] teacher spokesman who claimed the board has not been exposed to the teachers' negative reactions to the program." The articles mentioned the related problem of beginning the formal salary negotiation process on schedule when a major controversy was pending that might be related to those negotiations. One day later, Cottage Grove's weekly newspaper ran a four-column front-page story with half-inch headlines announcing "Teacher Survey Shows SPECS Disenchantment." And now things started to happen!

The Mouse That Roared

For the developers, the newspaper accounts had the effect of a bomb dropped into their laps. They had been making a concerted effort to "leave the district alone" after the formal termination of the pilot study. However, in response to the adverse publicity, the chief developer immediately penned a long letter to the school board, superintendent, and teachers' association offering to interview everyone in a marathon survey or to help in any other way to overcome difficulties related to SPECS. The offer was totally objectionable to teachers, whose views ranged from strong expressions of mistrust to a stated preference for having outsiders leave the district alone. One teacher commented, "I'd hate to have CASEA come down again and look into this."*

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* I was exempted from this categorical rejection of CASEA and was told that if I wanted to conduct such a survey, I would have the teachers' blessing. It was tempting to help, but I would not have been able to continue my study as a detached observer. My conscience was assuaged by the fact that the teachers seemed to be making adequate headway in raising issues and explicating their points of view. I was far more interested in seeing the resolution than in being it.

The newspaper accounts, having now anticipated the intended discussions with the board, tended to force the teachers to consider appealing to other audiences. Teachers recognized that board members might not take kindly to the premature public airing of the dispute. Borrowing a phrase from their new involvement with collective bargaining, teachers looked favorably on some kind of fact-finding process. They considered the possibilities of either securing an expert witness who would analyze and defend their survey procedure and questionnaire results or appointing an independent arbitrator acceptable to both sides.

Exactly who might satisfactorily fill the role of impartial arbitrator became problematical. The teachers' growing mistrust of CASEA was now generalized to include other university faculty members who might also have professional commitments to CASEA or personal commitments to its staff members. The teachers' inclination to nominate their state association was countered by recognition that the association would be seen as extremely partisan. They recognized the reluctance of the superintendent and board to call in outsiders but also recognized the difficulty of convening an acceptable panel of insiders.

Due partly to a lack of alternatives, the possibility of inviting a review by the State Department of Education came to be considered more and more seriously, even though the teachers assumed that state officials were basically in support of the PPBS model. By the time SPECS had been awarded a place on the agenda for a regular school board meeting, the new SLEA president (a teacher at the high school) had written to the state department proposing an inquiry into the SPECS project in South Lane. During the course of the board meeting, the SLEA president announced his recent action, as paraphrased below:

> I feel I ought to inform the board that I have written to the state superintendent of public instruction and told him he ought to look into PPB systems in this district and that the Oregon Education Association and state board of education ought to look at the effects of the system in the classroom. I also asked for a one-year moratorium on the implementation of PPBS in the state.
>
> You board members are leaders and you can influence the state. We felt that we as teachers should take what we know to other teachers, and you should tell what you know. Let's make sure this kind of thing is not a sour apple.

The letter suggesting an inquiry by the state superintendent's office was yet another bomb. Rumor had it that the South Lane superintendent arranged a trip to the state capital so quickly that he arrived ahead of the teacher's letter. By the time the board was ready to act, informal arrangements had already been made for the State Department of Education to hold an inquiry. Board members actually voted to approve their official letter endorsing the idea of a program review *after the letter had already been dispatched.* Other formalities were also set aside. At the meeting where SPECS was finally given a place on the agenda, the board chairman quipped, "I haven't seen this many teachers since the orientation breakfast."

Three weeks later the board announced two major decisions. One was to give their formal blessing to the request for a state department inquiry and thus commit themselves to a serious consideration of its findings. The other was to declare a moratorium on the SPECS implementation. The word "moratorium" was not actually used in the board summary, but the action was subsequently referred to by that term. Moratorium has a special connotation among educators. It is somewhat of a euphemism—a nice way of saying that things haven't been going too well and cannot continue as they are. An educational moratorium stems from mutual recognition that something is amiss, coupled with hesitancy to air the issue too widely and uncertainty about what steps should be taken next.

The board specified that teachers were to continue to use SPECS materials they were already using, but that for the remainder of the 1973-74 school year and during 1974-75 they would not have to develop new planning and evaluation documents "except as required by the board." Of course, administrators pointed out, teachers were free to continue developing materials on an individual basis, "and there are several teachers who will want to continue along these lines." Partly because the decision left much to personal interpretation, partly because it slowed down future efforts without ignoring past ones, and partly because it attempted to set no blame, the declaration of a moratorium was generally acceptable.

Attention turned immediately to the next big event—the state department's investigation. Teachers now feared that the report resulting from the forthcoming investigation might take several months to complete; they also expected that the final report would be biased in favor of SPECS, consistent with known biases at the state level favoring accountability in general and PPBS-MBO (management by objectives) in particular. Capitalizing on their current momentum, the teachers contemplated other avenues for assessing the consequences of PPBS in their own district and for alerting teachers elsewhere to those problems.

As the long-awaited meeting with the school board drew near, a member of the SPECS Committee reiterated a familiar sentiment in hoping for a good showing of teachers at the meeting and a display of candid statements describing teacher problems with SPECS. "I'd like to see the whole damn staff get involved," he commented. Teachers were concerned that SPECS was being "sold to other districts who might be uninformed of the South Lane experience" and that the state was purportedly on the brink of mandating some form of PPBS for all school districts. One teacher suggested, "We should get in touch with every teacher organization in the state and let them be warned not to let this happen to them in the same way." Although the teachers' intent to "get the word out on SPECS" was clear, there were at least two practical problems standing in the way of achieving it: the magnitude of the task, and the difficulty of identifying and communicating just exactly what had happened in South Lane.

In Search of Allies

The seemingly obvious way simultaneously to get help with their own problems and to spread word of their plight among other teachers was to involve the state teachers' association (the Oregon Education Association) and, by extension, perhaps to involve the National Education Association as well. It is ironic that the teachers were later suspected of acting as pawns of the state and national associations. In fact, the teachers had little success in getting any help from the state association's tiny full-time staff, and about all they ever knew of the national association's interest was that teachers across the nation were almost uniformly disgruntled with programs that had been imposed to make them accountable. To further complicate matters, the state association had been attempting to implement PPBS in its own office, and the national association was reported to be strongly supportive of the new management by objectives approach. The organizational problems of the professional associations bore greater resemblance to the problems faced by the central office administrators than to those of classroom teachers.

At the school board meeting in March 1974 where state department officials presented the findings of their inquiry, the SLEA president announced that a letter had been sent to the Oregon Education Association (OEA). The letter asked OEA to prolong the inquiry into SPECS, particularly by looking at two aspects that teachers felt had received little attention in the state department's study—the effects of the program in the classroom and the costs to the district of maintaining it.*

In his announcement, the SLEA president noted that any invitation to OEA had to take into account that organization's limited resources, although in the excitement those limitations were but briefly acknowledged. Later the same evening, in a separate meeting of the SLEA, an OEA representative commended the teachers for calling statewide attention to problems with the system. He announced enthusiastically that with the combined resources of the OEA and NEA, 'We're going to put a coordinator here and help make this a benchmark study for the state."

In fact, however, no coordinator ever appeared. The OEA "ran out of time" before it could be of any help to the teachers in Year Four, and the teachers made no further attempt to involve OEA. Several months later, in a visit with officials from the OEA, I recorded these comments:

> The SLEA is a little uptight with us. They wanted some specific stuff on whether there are greater benefits learning-wise from SPECS and

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* For all the emphasis on program budgeting [illegible]ne ever assigned a satisfactory cost figure to SPECS itself. The teachers were probably right that virtually *any* cost figure would be a talking point against the system, but they never made any headway except by proposing "unaudited" estimates of their own as alternatives to the unaudited estimates of others.

> on the costs involved. We just don't have the resources to look into these things with our small staff. There's a tendency of these teacher groups to think of OEA as Mother Earth. We checked at the national level, but they didn't have the resources either.

The OEA officials also volunteered an interesting insight into a basic problem with PPBS in schools:

> We need to develop parallel systems to *handle* data as well as to *generate* it. If a program like this is implemented without providing extra help and a concerted effort to overcome resistance, sooner or later the teachers will rise up and kill it.

Although OEA officials recognized that the battle over SPECS was still raging in South Lane, they felt that nationally PPBS was fast becoming a dead issue. They interpreted the fact that the SPECS project's budget at CASEA had been cut as a clear indication of waning national interest. "There's a certain amount of faddishness in all this, just as there was with competency-based education," they concluded.

If teachers were indeed uptight with OEA, they were also skeptical that the organization would have been able to accomplish any more within the district than they had. In some schools in the district, OEA representatives were not allowed in the building until after 4:00 p.m.; accordingly, teachers felt it unlikely that an OEA investigator would find easy access to privileged information related to budgets or pupil performance records.

Another blind alley that was explored in the attempt to involve others resulted in no more than an informal exploratory meeting between teacher representatives and two members of the county unit of the Governor's Commission on Youth. The teachers posed the question, "Do you think there is value in our communicating what has happened in South Lane to people like yourselves?" The teachers explained what they saw as the need to "involve as many agencies as possible" in problems related to PPBS as they had experienced it. They probed the possibility of showing a link between teacher dissatisfaction and the quality of the educational program. They briefly reviewed the lack of teacher involvement in the initial decision to implement SPECS, the many SPECS-related problems that had subsequently developed, and their concern over where to turn next if the state department study proved to be a "whitewash." One teacher explained, "If there's one word that seems to sum it up, it's 'trust.' The trust has broken down here."

As often happened, the teachers had difficulty explicating precisely what was wrong in terms that allowed an outsider to identify ways to help. The issues they described were broad and complex:

> What kind of a monster are we creating? If we don't question this now, where will it lead? . . . And what will happen to kids if they become automatons? Or to teachers who are afraid to speak out?

The commission members were not sure whether in their formal capacity they could help; to the teachers' request they responded, "There may be something we can latch onto, but we'd be more effective wih something specific." In the interim, the commission representatives promised to discuss the matter with their chairman, and they suggested possible ways that the teachers might carry on their cause as a problem warranting community input rather than the attention of the commission. Responding to that suggestion, the teachers expressed reservations about where such problems should properly be aired:

> We're hung up on this ethics thing. You aren't supposed to go to the community with school problems.

The Commission on Youth did not take up the teachers' cause. As they realized, it would have been difficult to show how the youth (or teachers) of South Lane had actually been harmed by SPECS or had suffered an infringement of human rights. However, one member of the commission tried to encourage the teachers in their struggle by saying "If you feel that this is wrong, you've got to hang in there." Clearly the teachers were doing just that.

The State Department of Education's Investigation

Several weeks passed before the State Department of Education (SDE) mobilized a "task force" comprised of six regular staff members and the assistant superintendent of the Lane County Intermediate Education District, under the direction of a specially appointed chairman. The chairman had served in the SDE for over 20 years and was described by a former colleague as "honest, hard-working, and probably completely unknown to teachers." The other members of the task force were also strangers to the teachers, as was the whole process of external review. Among members of the task force, there was a hint of disdain for the frequent demands made on SDE personnel to help local districts "get over their own problems."

Preparing the type of evaluation of SPECS that the South Lane teachers hoped to see was not the intent of the SDE task force. As noted in their final report, the state office was interested only in looking at what the district was doing to manage its educational program and in examining how South Lane's experience might guide the development of appropriate state standards. The report referred repeatedly to an "Educational Management System" and noted that the term SPECS was used only "because it occurred in conversations with members of the staff" and thus could not be avoided. Although teachers were worried that the task force would attend solely to the concerns of administrators, while administrators wondered if the study would dwell excessively on the concerns of teachers, the SDE's interests, as stated candidly by one member of the task force, were to "learn how the system has worked, and its implications, *for the state*."

Some South Lane personnel felt that taking the SPECS issue outside the district had been a serious error in judgment. That sentiment was expressed by an administrator who commented, "I think it's an indictment of a district's ability to handle its own problems when outsiders have to come in like this." For their part, members of the SPECS Committee worried that these particular outsiders were interested not in looking critically at whether or not to pursue the adoption of the PPBS model, but rather at how to make the model succeed. A member of the district's central office staff summarized the argument but expressed confidence in the integrity of the task force:

> I've heard it argued that the state has a vested interest. I don't agree. I know some of the people coming in on the task force, and any vested interest they have in terms of moving toward a PPB system is in finding out what is really going on. They don't want to "take on" the teacher organization.
>
> The state superintendent was setting up a PPB system long before he knew that we had one here. They really want to find out how this is operating. If it is creating a problem in a district of 200, there's no way they'll tool up for it statewide. The new state high school graduation requirements have created enough problems!

More misgivings were expressed once the interviewing began, including some concern by task force members that individual teachers might not be candid about revealing their opinions. Some teachers favored scheduling a time when anyone who had not been selected through a random selection procedure could volunteer his or her views to the task force; they were exasperated to learn that the place chosen for those interviews was the boardroom in the central office.*

The task force's plan to interview one out of every four teachers seemed fair enough when presented in the abstract, but the luck of the draw produced apprehension. The very first teacher scheduled for an interview happened to be an oldtimer who had learned only the same morning that he was not going to be rehired the following year—after 17 years of teaching! On another day, of six interviews scheduled for one task force member, two happened to be with librarians and a third was with a half-time teacher who had other nonteaching responsibilities. Classroom teachers objected that their valuable interview slots were being filled by people who lacked firsthand classroom experience with SPECS.

Given the number of people interviewed, the task force was probably exposed to a full range of attitudes. After sitting in on several interview sessions and meetings, my impression was that a wide range of feelings was expressed, although not necessarily with the vehemence that I had at times witnessed in the past 14 months. As one pro-SPECS teacher commented to an interviewer, "They've locked the barn door too late. Why didn't they do something when everybody was screaming two years ago?" A member of the SPECS Committee expressed a similar concern. It had taken so long to bring about any real action (it was almost a year since the SPECS Committee had been formed) that much of the intensity of feelings had subsided. As one teacher noted, "We've had to hold a couple of brief SPECS Committee meetings in the past few weeks to build a few fires and keep the steam up." The fact that the state department had finally arrived on the scene served to further dissipate the antagonism already largely dispelled by the board's decision to declare a moratorium.

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* Teachers assumed, and felt that the central staff would do likewise, that any teacher who made a voluntary appearance was probably disgruntled with SPECS. It did seem unlikely that a teacher would make a trip to the central office just to tell the interviewers how nice SPECS was, although it was later reported that two of the six who showed up had done just that. The unofficial but generally acknowledged neutral ground for such a hearing would have been the high school library.

Task force members did not lose sight of their own purpose—to examine the general problems of management systems. If their patience was tested by hearing the same complaints time and again, they exhibited remarkable persistence in attempting to identify what SPECS was actually accomplishing. Even in interviews with pro-SPECS staff, such probing often proved difficult, as shown by the following examples:

> *Interviewer*: Does the kind of SPECS information you've accumulated get used in budget decisions?
>
> *Central Office Staff Member*: No, only in curriculum decisions. We backed off on the cost effectiveness issue because we saw that maybe an older teacher, more expensive but maybe no more effective, would show up as less cost-effective. We backed off on that. We don't want to seem to be comparing cost effectiveness this way.

* * *

> *Interviewer*: How do you know whether the data you are collecting is any good?
>
> *Pro-SPECS Principal*: It ought to be good—this program has taken three years to develop.
>
> *Interviewer*: If the teachers are good test developers, then there is good test data. . . . How good is the data that SPECS provides? Because decisions need to be based on good data.

After the latter conversation, the interviewer reviewed for me the underlying issue as he saw it:

> I think my question was bothering him. But most teachers are poor test developers. They aren't trained to be test developers. I tried to get him to see that if they are using this stuff for teacher decision-making, they're in trouble, because they don't have a way of assessing the quality of the data they're getting. And if they aren't using the data, what's the purpose of doing all this data gathering?

The Task Force Report

The formal 29-page "Study of the South Lane School District Educational Management System" was presented and orally summarized at the school board meeting of March 26, 1974. Both the chairman of the task force and the state deputy superintendent of public instruction were present. If the need for the investigation was the indictment that some took it to be, the report itself was careful to avoid such an accusation. Recognizing that "this report has necessarily dwelt more upon problems that have been encountered than upon the positive aspects of the program," it concluded with a page of commendations "acknowledging several commendable features and accomplishments of the South Lane planning efforts." The report lauded both the district's willingness to undertake an experimental program and its wisdom in recognizing the need to study problems and find solutions before proceeding further.

The body of the report contained four main sections. The first section reviewed how the study had come about; subsequent sections presented the task force's findings, conclusions, and recommendations. The section on findings summarized interview data from structured interviews held with 45 teachers. In response to a forced-choice question that asked teachers to attribute their problems with SPECS either to the "nature of the system" or to the way it had been implemented in South Lane, teachers came down hard on the implementation process:

> The predominant opinion was that teacher concerns stem from implementation procedures and uncertainties rather than from the nature of the system itself. Only two persons flatly answered that the concerns are mainly due to the system. In addition, three teachers said that the system was not well planned or realistic (Task Force Report: p. 10).

Summaries of positive and negative benefits cited by teachers produced no surprises:

> *Helpful*: The most often mentioned benefits in order of frequence were: assistance in day-to-day and long-term planning and time for planning, clarification of objectives, aid to organization of instruction, aid to individualization of instruction, exposure of gaps and the irrelevant, better or easier teaching, aid to the diagnosis of learner needs, and facilitation of reporting to parents (p. 6).
>
> *Hinderance*: Nearly two-thirds of those interviewed felt that the burden of record keeping, reporting and other paper work which results in less time for day-to-day preparation and working with students is a major handicap to teaching(p. 6).

For all the emphasis placed on curriculum development, it may have been something of a surprise to learn that "slightly more than one-half of the teachers replied that no curriculum changes had occurred because of the system or that they were not aware of any" (p. 7). Apparently task force members found the teacher responses unconvincing, for in their conclusions they stated that "the system has had a measure of favorable impact on the curriculum and instructional processes," and they noted that it "has potential for much greater benefits upon further development and refinement provided problems that have impeded progress of the program can be resolved" (p. 23).

Embedded in the text were comments, facts, and figures that provided some solace for careful readers of any persuasion. If teachers found comfort in attention drawn to "low morale" and a "communication gap," the superintendent must have been pleased to see repeated references to South Lane's progress in meeting or exceeding standards related to proposed revisions of state regulations, new federal and state requirements for school budgeting and accounting, and planning in compliance with new state graduation requirements. "In fact," the report noted, "South Lane appears to be ahead of most other Oregon school systems in this regard" (p. 26).

Apparently members of the SPECS Committee had turned the attention of the task force to criticism implied by an auditor's comment that "the computer service bureau (under CASEA System) generated inaccurate accounting records which were of little value for use in management systems. We believe this to be a material weakness." The comment was dutifully reviewed in the SDE report, but its impact was lessened by an accompanying explanation that such citations "merely" point out weaknesses or inadequacies that are expected to be corrected in subsequent periods and are "not uncommon" in audit reports. Similarly, the report provided some cost estimates for nonrecurring developmental costs and ongoing annual costs (e.g., salary figures for the SPECS coordinator and PPLs) for maintaining SPECS in South Lane but avoided the issues of whether such costs were excessive or whether SPECS had indirect costs as well as direct ones.

If the report had not cited part of a letter referring to "a PPBS-type approach to public education," its readers might have been quite unaware that SPECS was modeled on PPBS. There were references to budgeting and accounting procedures, but they were overshadowed by more numerous references to morale, involvement, cognitive and affective objectives, and compliance with state regulations. Only twice was there any reference to presenting budgets in a program format. One reference was to a new monthly report for each principal that provided the status of expenditures for each school's budget allocation. The task force described this as "an improvement over the old system," although principals felt that data supplied by the system were not yet meaningful. The second reference was to the fact that the SPECS budget format had provided *too much* cost data (euphemistically referred to in the report as data that were "more than adequate"):

> This is the one significant change that has been made in the accounting system since the start of the program, as a result of evaluation of the data generated and its usefulness for management and decision making. During 1972-73, cost data was generated to the level of the classroom by grades, such as Reading, Grade 1, Grade 2, etc. Since this detail was not useful, the grade level was eliminated from the system commencing July 1, 1973 (p. 19).

The thrust of the report's recommendations is reflected by constant references to the potential of a system like SPECS and the inevitability of problems with anything new, such as this passage, "Time devoted to such a program during its developmental stages can be fully justified only in terms of future benefits" (p. 24). The report's 11 specific recommendations supported the existing moratorium ("Before moving into additional curriculum areas districtwide, attention and resources should be concentrated on consolidation and refinement of the planning and implementation work that is being done . . ."), identified a number of specific problems to be addressed (providing extra training, clarifying the relationship between the program and teacher evaluation), and proposed a sequence of steps that would lead eventually to the successful implementation of the program in all subjects with both cognitive and affective objectives. The task force also recommended that the district's staff should be "meaningfully involved" but did not mention whether that involvement should include teacher input into the decision to proceed to each remaining step in the implementation sequence.

Teacher reaction was a mixture of appreciation for the task force's care and a reaffirmation of their suspicion that the SDE would not attend sufficiently to classroom effects of the program. A member of the SPECS Committee summarized the report as follows:

> It's a fair and thorough study. But it operates from the assumption that a PPBS program is a good thing and that whatever is wrong needs to be improved. So we'll have to get *our own* information about whether the program is a good thing!

If the teachers had not won a pardon, they had at least won a reprieve. In remarks prefacing a review of the study's findings, the deputy superintendent of instruction announced that the State Board of Education had delayed its timetable for moving toward an accountability program for one year "to give us time to learn from this experience." The teachers had succeeded in getting the state to "put on the brakes," just as they had, in one teacher's words, brought SPECS to a "screeching halt" within their own district.

The slowdown in the SPECS implementation in the district and vocal teacher resistance to PPBS left everyone wondering what to do next. The prevailing teacher attitude is reflected in an exchange between a member of the SPECS Committee and the district's SPECS coordinator later that spring:

> *SPECS Coordinator*: I think it's going OK now. When I came here a year ago, I heard there was a morale problem. Right now I'm not so sure there is one.
>
> *Committee Member*: If morale is improving because of a slowdown, let's not kill a good thing!

To increase teacher involvement and provide some focus for review of the task force recommendations, the next administrative move was quite predictable: form a committee. Because of the strong position taken by the SLEA through its SPECS Committee, it was clear that the SLEA should be represented, but it was not likely that the fate of SPECS was simply going to be placed in its hands. The SPECS coordinator was instructed to convene and chair a new districtwide SPECS committee comprised of an equal number of teachers nominated by the SLEA and teachers nominated by administrators. Had numerical representation become an issue, the anti-SPECS group would have found itself quite in the minority. All five administrative appointments were pro-SPECS, and the committee also included two pro-SPECS elementary principals. The five appointments made by the SLEA included two pro-SPECS teachers. Anti-SPECS teachers were outnumbered three to one. But the new committee operated in the manner of a discussion group: issues did not come to a vote, and any individual seemingly felt free to voice objections. The agenda prepared before committee meetings and the reports emanating afterward came from the desk of the SPECS coordinator.

The superintendent was still calling the shots and he still endorsed SPECS, but it was clear that he saw this as a time for talk rather than action. He also recognized that any further progress in SPECS needed prior teacher endorsement. Pressure from the central office to move SPECS forward was countered by pressures from vocal SLEA SPECS Committee members to maintain the promised moratorium and to provide teachers with options or alternatives at every possible turn. The coordinator explained that he was attempting only to bring some districtwide uniformity into the program: "Because SPECS was a pilot program, the building administrators were left to make a lot of decisions on their own. But now we can move toward a more coordinated effort as we move down the road."

SLEA SPECS Committee members on the new districtwide committee suggested that it might conduct or sponsor the study of SPECS' effectiveness, but coming hard on the heels of the SDE investigation, the consensus was that another study was not the answer. Instead, the coordinator turned the new committee's attention to examining task force recommendations and translating them into recommendations for the following school year (1974-75). Subsequently the committee agreed to examine part of the recommendations the first year and to convene one year later to address the remaining issues. The first half of the recommendations called mostly for shoring up problems in the existing program and extending it only to other subjects that entailed "predominantly skill and cognitive objectives." That left the tougher decisions for the meeting one year hence. By the time the coordinator was reminded to convene the districtwide committee again, most teachers had forgotten who served on it or how its members had been chosen.

Teachers wary of SPECS had long recognized the sign indicating that implementation of the program was once again underway: a call for the writing of teaching objectives for the "affective domain." Whenever they heard the SPECS coordinator mention the affective domain they assumed that the pressure was being applied by the superintendent to get the program moving. A hint of this came when the districtwide committee (eventually it became known as the "Joint SPECS Committee," and still later became the District Advisory Committee, or DAC) decided to meet one additional time before the end of Year Four to review the report that the SPECS coordinator was preparing on its behalf. During that review, someone took issue with the statement: "The district would expect affective domain objectives to be written during 1974-75." "They've slipped that one in," one committee member cautioned colleagues. "They'll have to change this—it was *not* agreed to." He asked the coordinator to change the wording. "Maybe the district would like to see these objectives," the committee member noted, "but it cannot expect them."

SPECS in the Doldrums

December 1973, when the school board declared the moratorium on SPECS, marked the beginning of a rather tranquil era in South Lane, a doldrum-like period of "calms, squalls, and light baffling winds." Time after time teachers reaffirmed, "The pressure is definitely off." Administrative staff members agreed, "We've backed off on it at present." The moratorium was not entirely responsible for this tranquility, but it helped keep the 'pressure' low in schools where there had never been much pressure in the first place. At some schools, particularly at the junior high school, most of the instructional program was already in the SPECS format by the time the moratorium was declared.

Meanwhile, improvements in the SPECS materials and procedures (and four years of familiarity with them) sometimes brought acceptance of specific elements of the program even among teachers who remained adamantly opposed in principle. New teachers in the district were forewarned about tasks required under SPECS, and in the tightening job market they probably felt fortunate in finding a position at all.

Oldtimers expressed lingering disenchantment and doubt that the forces that had "done" SPECS to them in the first place had really learned a lesson. Knowledge that the SPECS project was still in full force at CASEA, and occasional reports that their own superintendent was "going around the country telling other schools how great SPECS is," fanned the embers of teacher despair. If they liked to think that SPECS was in the doldrums, the anti-SPECS teachers nonetheless felt the urgency of remaining vigilant. There was always the possibility that the present period of inactivity might terminate abruptly with a new wave of SPECS requirements in the district or a new wave of PPBS interest at the state level.

SPECS Questionnaire II

Recognizing that the moratorium might lead pro-SPECS interests to dismiss the original teacher survey as no longer timely, members of the SPECS Committee began planning for a restudy of teacher attitudes. Their intent was to test the validity of their contention that basic antipathy toward SPECS had not diminished. At the same time, they considered the possibility that resistance to SPECS might now be greatly diminished except among a small but vocal minority.

Faced once more with the technical problems of surveying some 180 teachers, the SLEA SPECS Committee decided to first make an inquiry at CASEA about the possibility of CASEA help in conducting another survey of their own. Of course, for having imposed SPECS on them in the first place, CASEA was not highly regarded by South Lane's teachers, and its failure to complete and circulate the findings from the three-year longitudinal study had recently brought the Center's popularity to a new low. The teachers had come to believe that findings from the longitudinal study would vindicate them and demonstrate once and for all the depth of their dissatisfaction. Now, one and one-half years after the pilot study was complete and all data from the longitudinal survey had been gathered, the summary report was still unfinished. Teachers felt certain that the findings had been negative and therefore had probably been destroyed.

Yet despite those terrible suspicions, there were some arguments in favor of going to CASEA for assistance. For one thing, there were no other readily available sources for help. Further, SPECS Committee members now understood the division between SPECS' developmental activities and the independent study of its consequences; they also recognized that not every member of the CASEA staff was devoted to foisting PPBS on schools. And finally, they had not forgotten CASEA's help with every phase of the original SPECS Committee study.

The restudy was a major focus of the SPECS Committee's efforts in Year Five (1974-75). Results of the survey were reported to the teachers in May, just as the District Advisory Committee reconvened to consider the second part of the state department's recommendations.

There were some squalls during the doldrum period. For example, the director of CASEA, following administrative protocol when responding favorably to the teacher request for help, sent a copy of his letter to the district central office as well.* Central office administrators promptly notified teachers that they expected to be informed about any research being carried out in the district, and insisted that the SPECS coordinator be present at any meetings related to planning the restudy. The teachers were furious with what they perceived as an unwarranted intervention in their affairs. The chairman of the committee announced:

> We want to protect our own autonomy in this. This is an SLEA activity, carried on by teachers on their own time. We have the trust of the teachers and we don't want THEM [central office] muscling in! If CASEA will only provide help if there is central office involvement, then SLEA will do the survey without their help!

The director of CASEA was caught off guard. The teachers' side of the

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* If a similar protocol existed in which communications between CASEA and the central office had gone also to teachers, the history of SPECS in South Lane would have proceeded quite differently.

SPECS controversy had been slowly unfolding in recent months, sparked by unexpected events like the newspaper articles and the state department investigation. Now, carefully attempting not to provoke the sensitive South Lane scene in any way, the director had inadvertently generated more illwill. He was subsequently able to convince the central office that CASEA intended only to help teachers conduct their survey and would not embark on new work. The central office finally withdrew its demand for representation; however, the two CASEA staff members assigned to assist the teachers were later admonished for failing to "stop by" at the central office.

To avoid becoming embroiled in partisan activities on behalf of the teachers, the two researchers assigned by CASEA took care to point out that the survey would be conducted impartially and the results would be made freely available regardless of outcome.* The teachers reaffirmed their willingness to accept whatever results might obtain and made a renewed effort to include pro-SPECS teachers in the process of preparing questions for the survey.

One of the CASEA staff members assisting the teachers had spent the previous year and one-half designing and testing possible questionnaire items as part of his work with the SPECS research component. He distributed copies of his questions to teachers preparing the new survey in the hope that they might be interested in using them. However, the questions that a sociologically oriented academic researcher was interested in were, by and large, not the questions teachers wanted to ask. Few of his suggestions were incorporated into the teachers' questionnaire. One set of his questions sufficiently intrigued the researcher that he inserted them in the preliminary draft of the questionnaire as it was being typed at CASEA, tacking them on at the end so they could easily be deleted if the teachers objected. Like many of the other questions used, these were to be answered on a five-point scale ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree." The following examples are 2 of the 12 proposed questions:

> Nowadays, with the increasing pressure on administrators from the public and the board, principals may act in an unprofessional manner.
>
> Administrators will placate the public, even if it means doing things which cause problems for teachers.

While conceding that such questions might be interesting, the teachers reviewing the questionnaire regarded them as tangential to the SPECS study. Further, they noted that including such questions could well raise suspicions about their motives for conducting the resurvey. It was agreed that the researcher's proposed questions would be dropped from the final questionnaire. In a confusion of final instructions and clerical oversight, they were not.

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* In the eyes of many teachers CASEA stood accused of this very failing. It might well have seemed ironic that CASEA staff would be so adamant in their dealings with the teachers. However, the two researchers did not themselves stand accused, and one of them was actually responsible for finally completing the report—26 months after teachers had first banked their salvation on it. In any case, the irony of the conditions laid on the teachers went unremarked.

The final draft of the SLEA's SPECS Questionnaire II was prepared and printed at CASEA. Copies were distributed to all the schools by representatives of the teachers' association before anyone realized that the controversial questions had never been deleted. District administrators were more alert. They immediately raised issues about the questions as fact and as innuendo.* The embarrassment and chagrin shared by members of the SPECS Committee and CASEA's researchers were more than matched by the displeasure aired at the central office. The superintendent later told me, "On the last survey they had three pages on research about administrators. I telephoned to CASEA and told those people to 'get the hell out of my hair'—that's about the way I said it, too." The teachers obliterated the offending items, but the superintendent compared their efforts to offering to pick up the pieces after a window is broken.

SLEA's SPECS Questionnaire II was distributed during the first week of April, and the data were subsequently processed under the direction of CASEA personnel. Representatives from the SLEA SPECS Committee then held a final meeting with the two CASEA researchers and took possession of a stack of computer printouts tabulating the results. They asked a few questions regarding the interpretation of data, but the researchers made it clear that the teachers would have to draw their own implications from the tabulations.

Questionnaire results were made available in mid-May. The responses showed a range of attitudes similar to the results of the first survey but with less intensity on many issues. There was strong opposition to proceeding with the implementation of SPECS as it had operated two years earlier; 14 percent of the teachers favored continuing the development of new materials and application of SPECS to new programs, while 69 percent were opposed to continuing the implementation as prior to the moratorium. Forty-one percent of the teachers responded that continuation of the SPECS program definitely did not seem justified in terms of the time, money, and effort required; 11 percent responded that it definitely did seem justified. In a similar vein, about half of the teachers in each instance were for making SPECS participation optional with each teacher, for applying SPECS only to curricular areas in which teachers had decided to use it, and for phasing it out. The distribution of responses to the option of phasing SPECS out altogether is instructive for the ambivalence it revealed among the teachers five years after they had begun using the program:

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* Although administrators were no longer actively involved in the affairs of the SLEA and did not receive the questionnaire, there were pro-administration teachers who might call attention to the "negative" items. Marriage ties also linked teachers and administrators. In cases involving SPECS the assumed communication link was between a junior high school teacher and her husband, the district's SPECS coordinator. However, the wives of three principals were also teachers, and the larger schools had spouse links to as many as four other schools.

SPECS should be phased out:
Strongly favor 31% 15% 24% 12% 19% strongly oppose

Such figures lend themselves too readily to "creative interpretation," but allow me to suggest a way to summarize the teacher position. First, note that one-fourth of the teachers (the middle category) expressed no strong feelings one way or the other. A total of 31 percent were either mildly or more adamantly opposed to phasing out the program. This is the same proportion of teachers who strongly favored phasing out the program. I do not regard the 15 percent who mildly favored phasing out the program as very potent allies of the anti-SPECS group; after five years, mild opposition seems of little consequence. Thus I see the responses to this single item as a reflection of the same division that seemed to pervade the teacher group more generally—some for, some against, some neutral. Sentiment against SPECS was apparent throughout the summary of responses to the questionnaire, but that sentiment lacked sufficient cohesiveness to provide a firm basis for collective action.

SPECS Questionnaire II also probed several new areas not covered in the original SPECS Committee survey. Teachers emphatically rejected SPECS as a vehicle for measuring achievements, with two-thirds of the respondents indicating strong disagreement with the statement, "It is possible, using SPECS, to adequately measure the quality of student learning." Another question was designed to assess how closely teachers identified with the activities of the SLEA. A large portion (46 percent) of teachers reported they were "not at all active" in the SLEA; 40 percent considered themselves to be "moderately active," and 14 percent reported themselves to be "very active."

Concerning the impact of SPECS, a new line of inquiry suggested by the CASEA researchers probed the extent that information generated by SPECS was actually used to affect decision-making. Several questions addressed the issue of where teacher-generated information went and what impact it had. Almost two-thirds of the teachers felt that SPECS either had no impact on decisions about curriculum development or that teachers now had a smaller role in that process than before. About half the teachers reported that they built their teaching around the SPECS documents little or not at all, that they sensed pressure from the administration to "tell them what they want to hear" when completing the documents, and that they felt they did not receive enough feedback on the documents from supervisors or other teachers.

One question listed a number of people who might have provided teachers with feedback on the various SPECS documents. The results showed that half the teachers had not received feedback from their PPL or division head, two-thirds had received no feedback from other teachers, and four-fifths had received no feedback from their principals, the district SPECS coordinator, or "others."

Lack of feedback had always been a teacher criticism of SPECS. One member of the SPECS Committee enjoyed recounting how for the previous three years he had written on the margins of his summary reports submitted at the end of the school year, "Help! I'm really in trouble and need help." His annual failure to elicit any response always provoked amusement. One day he told his story to a teacher who had participated in a SPECS summer workshop where individual program summaries were summarized for use in a districtwide comparison between classroom accomplishments and community goals. She described the fate of his message:

> We cut those off with scissors last summer. We just kept the goals material. We threw the rest away.

The lack of feedback was perceived by teachers not only as a problem but as a paradox for a so-called information system. One teacher commented to the chairman of the state department task force, "When you ask how the PEDs [Program Evaluation Documents] will be used, you never get any answer." But another teacher, who was also a division head, pointed out that although teachers did not know what was done with the materials, they did not necessarily care.

> I think that the objections to SPECS are mostly related to the paperwork. After it leaves our hands it goes to our PPL, who keeps a copy. The rest is shot through to the district SPECS coordinator. We don't know what happens to it there, and we haven't made it our business to ask.

Teachers who made informal inquiries about what happened to materials forwarded to the central office through their PPL or division head repeated different explanations. A favorite observation was that "The stuff just sits there in boxes. No one knows what to do with it." Such stories were flatly denied by principals and the superintendent, who claimed that the important depository of the information was "in the division head's hands, where it can really be used."

The issue of the use being made of all the teacher-generated data gained popularity among teachers as they realized they had probably found the Achilles' heel of SPECS. "Do you suppose," a member of the SPECS Committee pondered toward the end of Year Five, "that it never really occurred to them to think about what they would do with all this data?" Only a week earlier the SPECS coordinator had offered a candid response to the question of what use was being made of the data:

> Not a great deal. In terms of instruction, the most important thing is that we have specified learning behaviors. You can take the objectives and analyze the curriculum. And the material is available to the division chairmen. But we haven't really faced the issue, "OK, 90 percent of the students have achieved mastery, so what?"

> We haven't correlated this with standardized testing. Maybe that's our next step. Learning-outcome data may make more sense when we tie in budget data. In the original SPECS model the capability is there, but we never did anything with it. The data are there, but for political reasons, we've backed off. There's teacher fear of this. And there are problems, like comparing a $10,000 teacher with an $8,000 one.

The doldrums ended with a symbolic bolt of lightning and crash of thunder that revealed the delicate equilibrium that had been reached between the teachers and the central office. During the summer between Year Five and Year Six (immediately after the end of the moratorium), the superintendent reviewed in a report to the board that matters related to SPECS continued to be addressed by the District Advisory Committee. The critical sentences that turned his statement into a bolt of lightning read as follows:

> Based on another opinionnaire that was taken of the teaching staff in which they *voiced again the satisfaction with the SPECS planning management system*, the joint committee between South Lane Education Association and the district is continuing. This appears to be a vehicle for problem resolution that is working [emphasis added].

Teachers returning from summer vacation were more than a little surprised to hear of their reported satisfaction. Many appeared at the next board meeting to protest what they considered a gross misrepresentation of their views. This time it was the teachers who were "armed to the teeth" with the results of their original study, their restudy, the task force report, a special report prepared for the board by the SPECS Committee, and a spokesman ready to give a formal presentation. Expecting another confrontation, the teachers were surprised to hear instead a formal apology. The superintendent announced that he had meant to write "dissatisfaction," not "satisfaction." With that "detail" cleared up, he asked if the SLEA still wanted to make a presentation. On the issue of whether or not the superintendent's mistake was unintentional, teachers were, as usual, divided in their opinions.

From PPBS to SPECS to South Lane's Planning Management System

The focus throughout this study is on educational systems as *organizations* of people rather than on planning-programming-budgeting systems as *organizers* of people. I hope I have said enough for the reader interested in PPBS in schools. I now wish to address two questions: (1) Was SPECS actually implemented in South Lane? and (2) Was SPECS really a form of PPBS? Because I believe the answers to these questions are moot, I can only give a personal opinion and then present evidence in support of my position.

In my opinion the answers are, respectively, yes and no. In the process of implementation, I suspect that SPECS became less and less of a planning-programming-budgeting system in order to survive. In the end it was a set of procedures for managing curriculum. That was all the teachers would allow it to be, and that was seemingly consonant with the superintendent's redefinition of his objective:

> I really see SPECS as being "right on." I'm not so excited by resource [budget] planning. This kind of curriculum planning is more what I'm interested in.

Arguments about the degree of SPECS implementation might continue forever. For purposes of further project funding, South Lane was touted as the district that had "gone the farthest" toward implementation. At the same time, the developers sometimes recoiled in horror as they became aware of the problems that occurred there, and that horror came close to home when it threatened the future course of the project (as we will see in the next chapter).

Another question that must remain unanswered is whether SPECS as originally designed was really capable of implementation. Some headway was made in each of the idealized components, but coordination among them was never achieved. Ironically, the budgeting system was the first component to be dropped, totally supplanted by another system during Year Two. As one principal noted in Year Three:

> The program budgeting model has not been totally implemented. We have never gone through a year of analysis of teacher time, *et cetera*. Program budgeting *per se* will be implemented within the next five years in this state, and we will be required to use accounting procedures called for by the SPECS model.

Congruity between the SPECS budgeting model and state requirements was due to the fact that the developers had subcontracted preparation of the new program budgeting format to an agency already familiar with the impending changes in state accounting requirements. Although subsequent remarks from South Lane administrators acknowledged how "SPECS got us on the right track," plans for actually developing a SPECS program budget in South Lane were dropped in Year One. Further developments along those lines were restricted to cost-accounting procedures.

The ideal of having teachers set goals for their instructional programs and having the community set broad goals for their schools seemed attractive as a technique for stimulating professional and community involvement. In fact, however, it proved to be an unwieldy task. Early efforts at community goals development as prescribed by SPECS Component Four produced such modest results that additional goals and an overarching goal structure literally had to be "invented" before teacher outcomes could be matched with them. During the Matching Workshop held in the summer following Year Four, a teacher asked, "Where are the district-defined program goals for the courses I teach?" The SPECS coordinator answered, "There aren't any. You'll have to generate them, like we did last year for courses that didn't have district-defined goals. Then teachers next year will have a starting place for working up goal statements." Another teacher at the workshop observed with dismay, "If you think about it long enough, you can justify drawing any line to any point relating [i.e., matching] what we do in school to what the community wants."

My own feeling is that SPECS was implemented in South Lane—at least to the extent that its limitations allowed and to the extent that it could be imposed through the formal channels of the administrative hierarchy. As has been suggested about other educational innovations (cf. Charters and Pellegrin 1972), the formal process of SPECS adoption actually entailed a complex set of adaptations. Perhaps SPECS is best described as a "second-generation adaptation." The original idea of PPBS was first translated for use in school settings generally (the South Turkeyfoot material), and that system was subsequently adapted by a particular school district. I imagine that a PPBS technician would be struck dumb to learn that questions and comments such as the following were made by educators who believed themselves to be deeply enmeshed with the problems of PPBS:

> *Teacher at the Matching Workshop, Year Four*: The teachers still don't seem to know how to write performance objectives. Here's an example—the performance objective is "to write words." The proficiency level she set is "18 out of 20."

* * *

> *District SPECS coordinator, Year Four*: You can do your PEDs on butcher paper if you want to—as long as the objectives are specified and we can find the assessment data we need at the district level. You only need to list group outcomes now. One teacher said that the group outcomes don't give the detail he wants. The kind of detail he wants is really for his use, not ours. We want to make him happy, so we'll let him bring this stuff down to the district office in bushel baskets if he'd like to, but somebody there will have a time sorting it out. That will make it tough on those examining data this summer.

* * *

> *School board member, Year Five*: This program is not something that can be compromised. I see it as an admission by the staff that they aren't capable of doing what we asked them to do. This defeats one of the purposes of our work, the board's wish to have teachers demonstrate that they can accomplish certain purposes. It looks to me like we're willing to sacrifice some of the goals we set in order to reach a compromise.

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> *Teacher, Year Five*: If I needed to, I could fill in next year's summary right now.

* * *

> *New teacher, Year Five*: My understanding is that all we have to do is the pretest and the posttest and I can just use what I want of the rest. The system was all set up when I came to teach here. I just sort of fell into it.

* * *

> *Teacher, Year Five*: Teachers may be better organized, but it isn't showing up with the kids.

* * *

> *Division head, Year Five*: SPECS definitely points to the weak teacher. Not in the program summary, but in the teacher who won't cooperate. You can't be an isolationist, working alone in your own classroom.

* * *

> *Teacher, Year Four*: This really helped me. I wasn't a good teacher when I started out, but with SPECS I'm a master teacher now. You can't teach without objectives. You've got to know where you are going. . . . This program saved one guy's ass from being fired. He couldn't get organized, wasn't getting on well with the kids, and so forth. Now he's doing fine. This really helped him.

* * *

> *Teacher, Year Five*: I'm definitely keeping SPECS in math. It's beautiful there. It's messy in reading and in language arts. In social studies it's very hard to get hold of what we're doing.

It is my assessment that PPBS as such never came to South Lane. SPECS evolved in the course of its implementation from an ambitious and comprehensive design for managing an entire school system to a set of districtwide procedures for curriculum planning and recording pupil progress. Since those processes were already part of the school program, the changes were only in degree or emphasis; however, most people seemed to link all changes made during that period with SPECS, for better or for worse. For example, an enthusiastic teacher and division head from the junior high school reported toward the end of Year Five, "Our total curriculum is now in black and white. We've eliminated emotion and feeling and it is based entirely on performance." Members of the SPECS Committee probably felt they had been equally successful in assuring that no one in their district—and hopefully in their state—would ever have to make or even want to make such a claim. Others saw the issues raised by SPECS taking new form in concern over teacher-board negotiation proceedings or the new state-mandated high school graduation requirements:

> SPECS is almost a thing of the past already. Anything left will be subsumed under the new high school graduation requirements . . . This year's ninth graders will be the first to come under that program.

Residuals of Change

The essential residuum of the change effort seemed to be what one member of the SPECS Committee described as "being sort of tuned in" to such procedures as writing objectives, pretesting, and posttesting. The extent that teachers were "tuned in" is illustrated by the results of a questionnaire one PPL prepared for the teaching staff at her elementary school at the end of Year Four. One question asked which SPECS procedures teachers would continue to use even if SPECS were discontinued. Ten out of the 11 respondents claimed that they would use pretesting and posttesting; 9 out of 11 said they would continue to develop objectives; and 8 said they would use the results of testing to help develop better programs. However, only 6 of 11 answered that they would continue to use the record-keeping documents. In their overall assessment of SPECS, the 11 teachers reflected the diversity of teacher opinion throughout the district. Three teachers wished SPECS would be discontinued; seven favored its continuation "with changes;" and one favored proceeding with SPECS as it was.

Regardless of whether one admires the superintendent for his tenacity in attempting to implement a management system or recoils at his apparent insensitivity to teacher reaction, it is clear that his orientation toward change did not shift remarkably after the pilot study. If he lost currency in some quarters, he gained it (possibly to a lesser extent) in others. A member of the central office staff made this observation midway during Year Five:

> The superintendent is not a "maintenance" type. He's oriented to changing, to innovating. He really took his lumps with SPECS last year. He was pretty discouraged at times. He's a good administrator. He's got this district pretty well organized.

It is certainly true that in spite of taking his lumps, the superintendent held fast to his commitment to get things better organized and to his faith in SPECS as a step in that direction. But by the end of Year Five he felt that SPECS was no longer a major issue within the district. Indeed, he said he had come to think of SPECS "more like a toothache that would go away if there weren't those dedicated souls using it to get at other issues."

Underlying the whole SPECS effort in South Lane was the superintendent's vision of a clear need for better organization in managing schools and, particularly, for managing the instructional program. In his view, the special strength of SPECS was that "unlike other kinds of PPB systems, the emphasis is on the classroom and kids. Some teachers claim that it doesn't help kids. But if you help the teacher to do a better job, you help kids." Were he faced with the same decision, he said he would again try to implement SPECS:

> I just couldn't have gone on for 20 more years in education without trying to change and improve it. It was like a dog chasing its tail around. It needed to be better organized. SPECS certainly helped in that direction.

SPECS provided a convenient nametag that eventually became linked with a whole range of events and groups in South Lane, including SPECS Days, SPECS documents, SPECS procedures, SPECS meetings, a SPECS Committee, a Joint SPECS Committee and a SPECS coordinator. As resistance to the program mounted, wary administrators began anticipating the day when they could stop using the label SPECS, a term that increasingly conjured up ill feelings and staff dissension. For those very reasons, however, the term was useful as a rallying cry for teachers. SPECS became a shorthand way for everyone in the district to refer to a history of trials and tribulations extending over half a decade.

Early attempts to introduce alternative names were noted but generally not aided by teachers. A member of the SPECS Committee, reporting on one of the first faculty meetings during Year Four, noted:

> When a member of the central office staff came to a SPECS meeting, she called it "curriculum planning." She started to say "SPECS," but then she corrected herself.

In that same month, the district's new SPECS coordinator, very much aware of the unpopularity of the program he was hired to coordinate, stated optimistically:

> The word SPECS only appears on the documents, and since GLC gives them to us [as the pilot district] at cost and we couldn't print them any cheaper ourselves, we'll continue to use the word SPECS there. But otherwise we don't use the word SPECS anymore. We now say "curriculum development."

The superintendent was both the earliest and the most adamant in announcing, "We don't have SPECS anymore. We have our own brand of curriculum management." With each subsequent year after completion of the pilot study, his statement probably became more accurate in a technical sense, yet as the original SPECS system was gradually transformed, the processes involved were still referred to by the original acronym. (As late as Year Four, however, some teachers were still referring to their planning days as "DEPS Days.") The fact that the SLEA SPECS Committee gradually assumed the status of a standing committee contributed to the term's continued usage, and the name SPECS still appeared on many documents. At the end of Year Four, when two vacancies were announced on the school board, SPECS even became a campaign issue, and each candidate's opinion of the program was reported in the community newspaper.

With the advent of the state department's task force it became administratively expedient to retain the term SPECS. The by-now-familiar acronym helped underscore the fact that the investigation dealt with a specific set of procedures rather than with the district's entire curriculum. The task force report also shifted easily into using the term SPECS in spite of an apparently conscious effort to avoid doing so. Pro-SPECS administrators and teachers continued to argue for dropping the word SPECS, while anti-SPECS teachers enjoyed toying with alternative labels that would accurately reflect their sentiment toward the program. One popular acronym suggested by a teacher was CRAP—for Curriculum Recycling And Planning.

A teacher reviewing the history of SPECS in South Lane for an interested outsider began his account, "No one remembers just how it began.

We all have a slightly different story." In not too many years I rather imagine that no one will remember just how it ended, either. In the interim, schools in both the pre- and post-PPBS era of the 1970s can still be characterized in the way Willard Waller described them over two score years ago—"Despotism in a perilous state of equilibrium" (Waller 1932:10). Using a different set of labels, I will have more to say about "perilous equilibrium" in later chapters. First, however, let me trace the course of events within the project that parallel the events just recounted of SPECS' later days in South Lane.

Chapter 4

Response:
The Project's Later Days

> If the anthropologist
> does not tell the human myth,
> who will? . . .
> Who will watch the ghosts dance? . . . .
> —Miles Richardson (1975)

FROM THE OUTSET of my association with the project I was struck by the differences in what was occurring under the banner of SPECS in the school district and what was occurring under the banner of SPECS at CASEA. The developers were winding up their work in South Lane and their visits were less and less frequent. With exceptions that sometimes marked major turning points in the course of events, personnel from South Lane never saw SPECS in action at CASEA and CASEA personnel other than the developers and myself did not see SPECS in action in Cottage Grove.

This chapter concludes the narrative portion of the book by reviewing the project's later days. It parallels chapter 3 by examining what happened to SPECS as an R & D project and to the R & D center that housed it. If the reader will forbear a play on words, I have organized the account to give the project what I personally feel it deserves—"the dickens." I have been inspired by Charles Dickens' idea of calling up ghosts of the past, present and future. Like old Scrooge, the SPECS project was haunted by ghosts that were at least partly of its own making. First, however, I need to fill in some details of what had been happening within the newly funded SPECS project after it suddenly expanded to become CASEA's most ambitious research and development program.

The Project's Apogee

The funding of the expanded SPECS project in December 1972 effectively shifted attention away from the South Lane pilot study even while that study had six months to go. In a meeting with the new federal project officer in January 1973, one of the developers reported:

> Almost all the SPECS materials have now been tested in South Lane. Now we can watch someone else [i.e., GLC] implement it while we do research on its consequences.

SPECS in South Lane was prematurely assigned its place in history because the succesful completion of that part of the SPECS story was a prerequisite for subsequent funding. During the writing of the new funding proposal, SPECS in South Lane was only in Year Two. When the comment quoted above was made, the SLEA SPECS Committee had not even come into existence.

Had the implementation of SPECS been proceeding smoothly in South Lane, perhaps the need for an adequate evaluation of the project would not have become an issue. In fact, the developers had neither attempted nor intended to evaluate the project in South Lane. The independent longitudinal study needed one more year of data collection and was actually designed to track changes in attitude rather than to measure program effectiveness. As the project's anthropologist I was charged only with doing a modest study to "see how things had gone," partly to help in planning a more comprehensive multi-site study in the future.

The developers intended that evaluation activities would be the focus of the research conducted at the new sites where SPECS would be implemented following completion of the pilot study. And even there, SPECS itself would not be the focus of research; evaluative efforts were to be directed toward *what happened in the schools* when SPECS was implemented. With so few months left in the pilot study, discussion within the SPECS project staff focused entirely on how research might be conducted at future, as yet unidentified, sites. Members of the project's new research unit felt awkward acting as apologists for an innovation that was itself never going to be researched. That awkwardness was not easily conveyed to the developers, who had to make the system work and had never anticipated the magnitude of problems that would be encountered in its development and implementation.

The shift in project emphasis away from research was revealed in the language of project members. Phrases bandied about in early project days, like pilot study, experimental site, or "testing" of materials, gave way to more carefully chosen descriptors referring to a developmental effort, pilot program, cooperative venture, or field trial in references to the work already completed. This transformation was neatly recapitulated in a single sentence of explanation by the director of CASEA:

> The work in South Lane was an experiment—a pilot program—actually, a cooperative venture—to help us develop SPECS. I think that is something the teachers never realized in South Lane. And that is why there was so much misunderstanding.

Central office administrators in South Lane noted the impending end of the three-year pilot study and sensed that the developers' energies were already being drawn off in other directions. One of the developers provided the reassurance they sought, stating, "These formalities about terminating the relationship between CASEA and South Lane are just that—formalities. We aren't just going to forget you!" The superintendent replied, "We're divorced, but we can continue the relationship, right?" Again the developer reaffirmed his continued support, "I'm still there [at CASEA] and we'll always be ready to help. Have we ever turned down a request from you for help?"

South Lane was not forgotten, but work there now had to compete with simultaneous demands generated by the development of plans for a new large-scale research effort, by NIE's contractual requirements, and by the demands of the project's new commercial partner, GLC. Two months into the new project, one developer summarized its basic program plan in terms of "44 items, 8 years, and almost one and one-half million dollars." Among the items needed immediately were a textbook, five workbooks, and a consultant's manual, as well as a set of final reports on the South Lane effort.

Meetings of the Minds

It was inevitable that the new SPECS project would be epitomized through the act of convening a professional staff for a (probably regular) set of meetings in which existing work would be divided and new tasks would be identified, distributed, and subsequently reviewed. SPECS project meetings at CASEA were always (and often exclusively) gentlemanly, usually lasting about two hours. Most meetings were held in a special conference room intended for convivial seminar-type discussions. But conviviality was strained by the project staff's widely diverging interests, enthusiasms, and commitments. The project's broad scope and large scale brought together newcomers assigned to the research component and developers who were intimately familiar with the project but had never intended that their materials might become the target (rather than a catalyst) for research attention. Research-oriented staff members, who were uncommitted to accountability and PPBS, faced development-oriented staff members who had worked years to produce such a system. Education-oriented staff members talked of concepts like teacher satisfaction and pupil achievement, while sociologically oriented individuals argued about decision-making, conflict, and centralization. The project also cut across age-grades; older, tenured members (including myself) acted as perpetual critics but seemingly expended little actual effort, leaving junior staff members to do the work—a rather common complaint throughout academia and what one junior member of the project staff bitterly described as a superb example of the Center's "gerontocracy." The different orientations of various staff members precluded any totally satisfactory resolution to two critical questions—"What should we be looking at?" and "What is SPECS?"

It is perhaps trite to fault a project involving a systems approach for being unsystematic, but it is certainly true that issues seemingly resolved at one meeting were likely to reappear months later for reconsideration and a totally different resolution. Among the many reasons for this was the lack of systematic procedures for recording decisions or the manner of reaching them. In addition, the project's personnel and formal leadership kept changing, leaving new staff members the option of accepting the sometimes arbitrary decisions of their predecessors or arriving at new conclusions of their own. There simply were no untoward consequences of making and unmaking decisions.

The meetings suffered for other reasons as well. The activities of the development team had become so specialized that its members never sought the advice or approval of other project staff members. When the developers needed additional assistance they recruited from outside the project staff. Meanwhile, the research group tooled up slowly; neither in Year Four nor Year Five were any of the new SPECS sites far enough along in implementation to warrant systematic research. Early projectwide meetings included reviews of progress in working out details with NIE and GLC, reviews of meetings with potential SPECS sites, and reports of plans for organizing the research effort. Only the last of these activities invited discussion, and time and time again discussions trailed off along the lines of four unresolved issues.

Unresolved Issue Number One

A frequent topic of debate was the issue of what SPECS was and how one could recognize a "consequence" that could be attributed to SPECS. Since the developers had never specified exactly what constituted SPECS, the researchers took on the responsibility of defining it so that they could assess the degree to which SPECS had been implemented in a school district. Whenever the researchers thought they had finally found a satisfactory working definition, someone from the development team would usually object, "But that's *not* SPECS." The discussion would then lapse into a familiar scenario in which the developers would elaborate some element of what SPECS was—or was not—intended to be.

The difficulty of defining SPECS was complicated not only by the developers' protective interests but also by the complexity of the many components that collectively comprised the system. For example, would a district that implemented only Component Two and Component Three qualify as a SPECS test site? Some of the early interest in SPECS came from districts interested only in the accounting system of Component Two; would such a district qualify as a place to conduct research on SPECS? The questions were hypothetical, but the researchers were very aware of the pitfalls of researching the effects of an educational innovation without first ascertaining whether the innovation had really been implemented (cf. Charters and Jones 1973).

A further complication in defining SPECS was related to changes in SPECS itself. In writing the funding proposal, it was anticipated that SPECS would comprise a completed and tested set of materials at the conclusion of the South Lane study. Consonant with the new emphasis on researching the effects of SPECS, the developers agreed to devote their efforts solely to assisting new SPECS sites with implementation. They recognized that if they were always tampering with SPECS, the research would never be conclusive. After the intense effort they had put into designing SPECS over the past four years, the developers were probably eager to be free from the nagging problems of constant modification and revision of the documents.

However, it became ever more apparent during Year Three that the materials would benefit by substantial revision. SPECS was not in finished form after all. Its grand design did not change, but the procedures and documents were in a seemingly perpetual state of revision until the end of the project. In the early days of the expanded project there was much gnashing of teeth over the possibility that SPECS might not stand still long enough to be researched. Eventually, however, members of the development team resumed responsibility for implementation and allowed themselves free reign to change materials and procedures. In the project's later days, "document revision" was the most active element in the whole SPECS project.

Unresolved Issue Number Two

Another major issue involved problem-orientation. SPECS literally defied problem definition. Whatever one staff member might raise as the best approach could always be dismissed by the argument that any one approach systematically ignored some other critical dimension. One developer insisted that "the underlying idea of SPECS is that all you know about pupil change is what can be observed." Eventually it was agreed that "pupil change" was of particular importance, and that aspect of the research was subcontracted as an independent study. At the same time, others argued that a PPB system might be quite effective and never affect pupils at all. As a result, the pupil change study came to be perceived as a sort of "side bet" that had to be covered but was not the central focus of the research effort.

The study of schools as social organizations offered an alternative problem orientation. Concepts like task, commitment, power, informal networks, interaction, and information flow were considered as possible foci for research attention. But when a senior staff member interested in the study of schools as formal organizations drifted away from the project, the project drifted away from primary attention to those interests. When a new junior member interested in bureaucratization was appointed full-time to the research staff, the major research thrust proceeded in that direction for a year. Bureaucratization was consciously set aside when another senior member of the research staff who had previously worked only part-time on the project accepted a more active role and consciously set out to "turn the project around." He proposed a benefit-cost analysis of SPECS, arguing that such information would be most valuable to school administrators faced with the decision of whether or not to adopt the new system.

The research focus at any given moment was closely tied to the persuasiveness of effort rather than of argument. Whoever was willing to take the lead or prepare position papers or summary reports provided the immediate sense of direction; other project members either voiced collegial criticism or tapped into the mainstream of discussion as their interests dictated.

Unresolved Issue Number Three

Much discussion revolved around the issue of research design.* The project proposal provided a rationale for using a longitudinal design in the study of SPECS, arguing the impracticality of identifying control groups and the advantages of monitoring change over time. But latecomers to the staff had not been involved when the proposal was written, and problems of research design are a favorite part of research ritual. The design issue had to be aired time and time again to provide new staff members the opportunity to discuss the choice of research strategies. In particular, the organizational level at which the consequences of SPECS were to be examined provoked critical differences of opinion. Some suggested that the consequences ought to be examined at the level that SPECS was intended to affect, but no one could say precisely what level that was. Arguments that the classroom should be the unit of analysis "because that's where the work of the organization is done" were countered by arguments that a school district's management system might conceivably have no impact at the classroom level.

Unresolved Issue Number Four

A fourth persistent issue involved where and when research about SPECS would be used. This problem was of sufficient magnitude that it eventually (and literally) split the project in half. The important form of the question among project members was, "When are the developers allowed to learn what the researchers find out?" To a developer, the satisfactory answer is, "As soon as possible." To a researcher, the satisfactory answer is, "As soon as the project is completed and the information itself will no longer affect the course of events."

The feedback issue was academic as long as the developers regarded SPECS as a complete package that GLC would implement; the separation between research and development posed no problem that had not been anticipated in the original proposal. Members of CASEA's new internal evaluation unit had already been assigned to provide the developers with information independent of the research unit. But in carving out domains within the project, it gradually became evident that the researchers intended to provide no feedback at all to the developers. The developers had anticipated gaining new allies to help move SPECS forward, but they realized now that they had only added another burden to their task. They viewed the research team as a sort of parasitic subunit that intended to contribute nothing to SPECS except an independent assessment of its impact at the end of the new series of implementations.

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* An early in-house memo addressed to issues of design and authored by a senior member of the research staff bore the only intentionally humorous written reference to SPECS that I can recall: "SPECS: How to Put On and What to See" (staff memo, February 5, 1973).

Signs of Stress Within the Project

The SPECS project's internal problems were aggravated by the threat of gathering discontent in South Lane. In spite of the continued enthusiasm reported by the superintendent, there were hints that the implementation there might be going so badly that one developer reported in March of Year Three, "It could still fold as of June." To add to these anxieties, the senior developer, who had acted as organizer for writing the successful proposal and subsequently became the first project director, resigned to take another post. CASEA's director appointed the other original developer, who had developed most of the SPECS materials, to be project director.*

Administrative responsibilities only increased the anxieties the new project director was feeling about the adequacy of the SPECS materials and the realization that the independent research component intended to remain tightlipped about its future findings. The new director's personal anxiety did not enhance working relations among project members, and while it underscored the need for separate research and development activities, it also made that separation difficult to maintain. At one point the new developer-director admitted his "terrible anxiety of the past two months" and wondered whether there was research information "that would suggest that SPECS does harm to kids or to teachers." At another time the developer reaffirmed his anxiety about the results of my fieldwork in South Lane and expressed his need "to know whether we should junk the whole thing."

In the fall of Year Four, the developer made one last appeal to me, expressing his frustration at my continued reticence. He pointed out that without feedback he could not learn how to do his job better. I reiterated the research staff's position that we were not doing research for him. He acknowledged that fact but immediately asked, "Is SPECS . . . doing bad things to kids or teachers?" I reminded him that he had ways to get such data (through CASEA's internal evaluation unit) and explained again that I was interested in understanding what was happening, not in providing a product evaluation. I pointed out that he was part of what I was studying. He argued that he was not and reminded me that "the implementers are now GLC."

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* The decision was announced rather than discussed and was critical to the subsequent course of events. Essentially, however, it was a decision without alternatives. Raising objections to the director's decision was tantamount to volunteering for the assignment. Although the developer was felt to be "too close" to SPECS, no one else was close enough to want to make a bigger career investment in it. All project personnel at the time had other commitments.

Although I resisted the developer's request to rate SPECS' impact in South Lane, I shared his concern for an underlying and critical ethical issue. At what point might it be necessary to "blow the whistle" on a project that seemed to be causing harm? Clearly if there ever had been such a point in South Lane, it had already passed; by now the South Lane teachers were finding ways to check the rate of SPECS implementation and to assess its consequences for themselves. Within the project staff, the quality of SPECS as a system, the lack of procedures for its evaluation, and the wheel-spinning of the research component all precipitated negative individual reactions. Yet no one publicly raised the issue of who within the project or who within CASEA bore responsibility for monitoring a badly conceived or badly executed project.

I am as yet unable to analyze this intricate element in the project's dynamics. One of many issues clouding the topic is the view one takes of the function of large-scale, federally funded projects. One might argue that big projects take on a facade of specificity that underwrites a diversity of approaches and interests. It is my opinion that when federal funding shifted to a project-by-project basis, large projects like SPECS merely became vehicles for the ongoing efforts of R & D centers like CASEA. Consistent with that view I perceived SPECS as a vehicle for conducting research in schools, rather than the research program as a vehicle for SPECS. Others among the project's researchers shared my view that the more narrowly the research became focused, the fewer long-range consequences it would have. The new project director held a different view that reflected his sense of responsibility as director, his time and energy investment in developing the SPECS materials, and his somewhat self-righteous personal style:

> Because I have to answer to NIE, I feel somewhat less than honest if what is being studied does not relate directly to SPECS.

What related "directly" to SPECS hinged on the matter of defining what SPECS was. After six months of trying first to address and then circumvent this issue, it was resolved by recognizing that there could be different definitions of SPECS for different purposes. A member of the research staff summed up the issue at a critical juncture in staff deliberations:

> The way SPECS gets defined in terms of implementation and monitor-

> ing is different from the way it is in research. The research unit has the freedom to define SPECS.

The project director was quick to respond. "Then the research unit must also accept the obligation to justify its definition [to NIE]." That condition posed no problem to the researchers. They felt they had finally succeeded in extricating themselves from the complicating commitment of the developer and his coworkers on the development team. Later in the meeting, the developer wondered aloud about the impact of splitting the project in two: "Have I effectively cut myself off from the research component?" The separation meant that in spite of the persuasive preference in academic settings for basic research over applied work, the developer-director would not take an active role in the new research work, the major effort of the project.

Many months later the separation was formally approved by NIE. The two subdivisions of the project even had independent budgets. The separation was officially approved because of the need to keep the new research effort totally independent of continuing work involving development and implementation. There was another unofficial reason as well. Separate funding allowed one component of the project to be terminated independently of the other. Although it was obvious that the research unit was dependent on the existence of SPECS, it was not so clear that the development of SPECS required a major research unit. It was even less clear whether the research component had produced an adequate design or set of procedures and instruments for studying the consequences of SPECS.

The Project's Public Image

What I have been describing is, of course, the behind-the-scenes dynamics of the project—not its public image, promise, or accomplishments, but its problems. The developer's charge to the project staff was to develop a "good track record" (i.e., stay on schedule) and "come across with a number of products to show what we have done." In a letter to the federal project officer written in October 1973, he reviewed the project's plans for Year Four:

> Throughout the next year, we will continue to work with GLC and NSDC [National School Development Council, under whose auspices a national network of "SPECS Consultants" was being trained], as we have since 1972, to orchestrate the convergence of materials development and evaluation, orientation workshops, site development, actual implementations, and research on consequences.

The long-term fate of the project hung on "site development," the identification of six to ten school districts around the country that would implement SPECS and serve as research sites for the study of its consequences. GLC was to handle the critical task of site development; then suddenly GLC's top management decided to close out its Educational Services Division. The decision was abrupt, but to soften its impact the GLC staff member originally assigned to site development, an extremely effective field contact man and promoter for SPECS, was assigned to finish out the school year (and his own term of employment) working on behalf of SPECS with school districts interested in being field-test sites.

The short-lived belief that GLC would handle the task of finding districts and distributing materials provided a needed respite for the development team. During that time the developer-director turned his attention to the next critical event in the fate of the project, the NIE site visit scheduled midway in Year Four, the first anniversary of the expanded SPECS project. With characteristic attention to detail, the developer (who once referred to himself wryly as "the great memo generator") convened the project staff in September 1973 to begin preparations for the review scheduled four months hence. His original plan called for an item-by-item dress rehearsal requiring two hours a week for five weeks in September and October, followed by a second round of rehearsals in December. As usual, his enthusiasm for activities related to SPECS was unmatched by other staff members, and rehearsing was given far less time than he had intended. Nevertheless, his effort effectively reminded his estranged colleagues in the research unit that a day of reckoning would soon be at hand.

CASEA and GLC had originally joined forces in the effort to call the attention of school people to SPECS, and GLC continued to take major responsibility for implementation activities as long as it had personnel assigned to the project. Members of the development unit were occasionally on hand for the two-day orientation workshops organized by GLC around the country. Eighteen workshops were held between November 1972 and August 1973. CASEA also maintained a mailing list of educational administrators across the nation to whom routine and special mailings described ongoing projects like SPECS. In Year Five the SPECS staff initiated its own public relations newsletter, *Perspectives*.

Ever on the alert for ways to reach new audiences, the developer submitted a proposal for nine hours of presentations at the two National Educational Technology Conferences planned for March 1974. The fact that SPECS had its problems was not totally ignored in such workshops and presentations. One of the sessions proposed for the conference, for example, was intended "to present and discuss some of the major problems that arise and the solutions that must be developed when a PPB system is implemented in an operating school district." Essentially, however, such public presentations were enthusiastic progress reports of the kind one would expect from a product developer. The following description prepared by the developers for another proposed session at the technology conference serves as illustration. The proposed title was "The SPECS

Program at CASEA—An Eight Year Effort to Develop, Test, Disseminate, and Research a PPB System for Schools." The abstract read as follows:

> To my knowledge, the SPECS Program at CASEA, now beginning its fifth year of operation,* is the most comprehensive effort in the country to engage the staff of a federally suported educational R & D center in the development, testing, dissemination, and researching of a PPB system for schools. The objectives here will be to document the Program's past and planned activities and accomplishments, to provide a progress report midway through the eight-year program.

One of the four sessions proposed for the technology conference included a report from another district that had been involved with SPECS in addition to South Lane. The planned symposium. "The Challenge of Implementing an Educational PPB System—How To/How Not To" was to involve two members of the development team, the South Lane superintendent, and the newly designated SPECS coordinator from the Bremerton (Washington) School District. The purpose of the presentation was to "indicate how implementation in Bremerton has benefited significantly from the South Lane experience." Central office personnel from Bremerton had learned of SPECS from a new appointee to their administrative staff who had completed his doctoral studies in educational administration at the University of Oregon the previous year. Successful overtures from CASEA, from GLC, and from the SPECS consultant at the University of Washington had led to an intensive local effort to develop a 116-page SPECS implementation plan for the district.†

For purposes of its public image, SPECS was now well established. According to the development team, it had been successfully pilot-tested in South Lane and was currently being implemented, reviewed, or at least talked about, by school districts nationwide. In spite of its seemingly heavy load of ballast, the SPECS project appeared to be in orbit.

The Ghost of Implementation Past

The work necessary to put SPECS in orbit diverted much of the energy that the developers had directed to South Lane in the first two years of the pilot study. They admitted quite candidly that they had not spent much time there during Year Three. They were skeptical of too glowing accounts filtered through the superintendent's office (e.g., the "total" implementation at the junior high school; the newspaper story on how "SPECS Program Changes Education"), yet they had established no other ways to obtain feedback. The only exception was when one developer and an assistant held informal interviews at several South Lane schools just prior to the end of Year Three for the stated purposes of remedying some program faults through document revision.

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* Technically the "SPECS program" had not completed its first year at the time. However, when the new funding was awarded, earlier efforts were incorporated into the project's history. Members of the development team endeavoring to show SPECS as a long-range effort considered the year prior to the South Lane implementation to be the first year of the project. Members of the research unit reckoned their start-up date from a time three and one-half years later.

† Ostensibly the plan was a feasibility study on whether or not to implement SPECS. However, the procedures set up by the development staff were so extensive that they virtually begged the question of a go/no go decision.

Data collection for the three-year longitudinal study was completed in June of Year Three, but vague references to unforseen problems of "handling longitudinal data" hinted at possible delays in announcing its findings. As a matter of fact, the only data available at CASEA concerning the pilot project in South Lane were the data from the teachers' own study. The junior member of the CASEA staff who had provided technical help to the teachers had requested permission to share with the SPECS staff the data that the teachers had collected. The developer-director prefaced the discussion of the teachers' survey with this comment:

> I would not characterize our involvement with South Lane as the best example of an R & D center to involve a school district. So what we'll be doing here today is probably more of "showing the laundry" than "hoisting the flag."

One CASEA staff member commented on the teacher survey, "It would seem to me some state of anxiety would be necessary to prompt this effort." "Suspicion confirmed," replied the developer.

Project members were oriented toward the future rather than the past. Their attention in looking at the results of the survey focused not on teacher dissatisfaction but rather on possible ways to remedy the lack of feedback to the developers that had plagued the pilot study. As one staff member summarized the "lesson" of the teacher survey, "What needs to be developed is a set of processes—not part of the basic research—that would monitor the implementation program very closely and get information back to the developers." Before the close of the meeting, it was decided that future responsibility for monitoring implementation activities and providing feedback would be shared by the development staff and CASEA's internal evaluation unit.

For the next few months, South Lane was virtually forgotten by the SPECS project staff, except for the fact that some promised reports had not yet been completed. This forgetfulness was not born only of neglect; the developer felt that South Lane should be free to go its own way, and he was making a conscious effort not to interfere. There was also growing awkwardness over the fact that results of the three-year study were not yet available.

CASEA's Three-Year Study of SPECS

The longitudinal study was in trouble almost from its inception. Responsibility for it was assigned first to one and then two junior staff members who had little interest in the South Lane experiment and who came to realize that they were monitoring a project that was meeting considerable resistance and generating increasing antagonism. Also, the teachers misunderstood customary procedures that researchers follow in conducting any longitudinal study. Teachers began expecting feedback as much as two years earlier than it could have been available and four years before it actually materialized. District personnel and developers alike lamented the purity of a research design that allowed for no interim feedback. Anti-SPECS teachers and SPECS protagonists all wondered whose position would be supported by the findings.

At the confrontation between the SLEA SPECS Committee and the South Lane superintendent in July of Year Three, the superintendent rejected the teachers' suggested deadline for action on the grounds that "CASEA isn't giving us our report until late in August and we can't do anything before that." Due to confusion over which report he meant, the teachers optimistically expected a report of the longitudinal study's findings to appear any day. (During Year Four and Year Five I do not recall ever making a trip to Cottage Grove to meet with teachers without being asked if I knew any more about "that report.") When the report failed to materialize despite repeated assurances from the SPECS staff, members of the SPECS Committee suspected that the data had actually been run and were so negative that no report would ever be written. In the early years of the pilot study, while the data simply "sat" at CASEA awaiting subsequent annual surveys, there were rumors and innuendos that the developers had access to the questionnaires and even that they were reporting information and names to the central office. Teacher reluctance to return questionnaires was evident in Year Two even though CASEA offered ten dollars to every cooperating teacher.

Researchers at CASEA were as reluctant to handle the study data as the teachers were to provide it. In all, more than half a dozen individuals took responsibility for working directly with the data or overseeing completion of the report. Junior members of the CASEA staff were fascinated by the continuing failure to complete the report, and they joined the growing number who suspected that the findings had proven too negative. Some speculated that the report had been completed in secret, or that it would never be finished, or that the findings would either be buried in an avalanche of numbers or "whitewashed."

I am of the opinion that the failure to complete the report was due primarily to the fact that it was related neither to any basic research issue nor to any staff member's career interest. As they were handed from individual to individual, the data themselves became less timely, and they were suspect because they were "only attitudinal data" in the first place. Among members of the SLEA SPECS Committee, concern for the missing report came to be almost an obsession. But the SPECS project staff cared little for what they saw as stale and uninteresting data that gradually became staler. The views of two researchers who at different times were assigned to complete the report are instructive. The optimistic view of one was, "The instruments came out of research interests. If we can recapture those research interests, we can make full use of the instruments themselves." A more pessimistic researcher took his turn at the assignment without enthusiasm:

> I haven't much confidence in the data. As a matter of fact, it's shitty data—most everything lands right in the middle of a seven-point scale. . . . These are very insensitive instruments.

The report was eventually completed by two junior members of the research component who carefully noted that they had inherited the assignment. Clearly no one could hold them responsible for the delay, since neither was a member of the CASEA staff when data collection had been completed more than two years earlier. Neither of the longitudinal study's two designers was still at CASEA when the data collection was completed, and subsequent efforts to complete the study were hindered by the conflict between the developer-director and members of the research component. Members of the research unit had no particular interest in the longitudinal study, since it related to a past implementation rather than to the new sites they would be studying. No one on the research staff had any idea of the great importance that South Lane teachers attached to the uncompleted study, since there was no communication with them. Until the newspaper headlines broke, I do not believe that the developer realized its importance either; his interest in seeing the study completed was to protect SPECS' track record in meeting commitments.

"Meanwhile, Back at the Ranch . . ."

CASEA's waning interest in South Lane was reawakened with a jolt in November 1973 by newspaper headlines proclaiming teacher disenchantment with SPECS. The project staff's reaction was a combination of concern over what the project had done to South Lane and what problems South Lane might now cause for the project. A member of the research staff who had been designing and pretesting questionnaires about SPECS remarked, "That's liable to ruin the work in standardizing the instruments." The developer, intent on locating new sites, wondered:

> What will happen if the superintendent of some district we're negotiating with reads this? Will the district pull out? There's one district right on the verge of signing a contract.*

The developer's self-proclaimed hands-off policy left him with a momentary feeling of frustration. He wondered if SPECS had at last been dealt a death blow. On further reflection, he simply shifted back to a hands-on style and proposed that the development staff return to South Lane as troubleshooters to conduct interviews and offer suggestions. Although his proposal was not accepted by the teachers, he was invited to meet with the SLEA SPECS Committee.

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* At the time, CASEA and GLC were negotiating with districts as far away as New Jersey, and headlines in the Cottage Grove *Sentinel* were not likely to travel so far. But the possibility that the article might come to someone's attention in an eastern Oregon district that was on the verge of signing with SPECS was less remote.

The meeting between the SPECS Committee and the developer-director was held within one week of the first newspaper story. Teachers were unable to explicate exactly how they wanted to see the SPECS issue resolved, but they knew that they did not want further interloping from SPECS' own developers. They also wanted to clear up two lingering issues. The first was, of course, the missing longitudinal study. The developer stated that the study was not completed and that he had never seen the information.

The second issue concerned the report that the developer had delivered to the South Lane school board three months earlier to conclude the pilot study. Since the teachers had given permission for their own survey results to be discussed at CASEA in June, they wanted to know why the problem of teacher dissatisfaction, which they had documented in their study, had received no mention. The developer replied that he had tried to be objective but admitted that he wrote the report "from a CASEA point of view:"

> I assumed your report would be on the agenda of that board meeting in August and was surprised not to see it. But it wasn't my business to refer to it. It was not a public document.

A member of the committee pressed the issue further in the ensuing discussion:

> *SPECS Committee Member*: In spite of your interest in being objective, your report does give a pretty rosy picture of SPECS. [He reads excerpts.] The things here are very supportive.
>
> *Developer*: Are they untrue?
>
> *Second Teacher*: Yes.
>
> *Third Teacher*: They're at least lopsided . . . The stuff you and the superintendent are giving the board are the only things they've heard. They only have the positive side.

The SPECS project managed to survive its fright at the course of events in South Lane, but the "ghost of implementation past" did not stop haunting the project. The development unit was now faced with the alternative of complicating its sales pitch to other districts by acknowledging the difficulties that had finally surfaced in South Lane or else risking that accounts of the turmoil there might someday become more widely known. The latter option perpetuated the risk indefinitely, but the first option entailed trying to achieve proper balance between a too-casual reference to past problems and a full-scale confession.

Variations in personal styles for "showing the laundry" were evident at the NIE site review that took place two months after SPECS made the local headlines. Attention at the site review focused on the project's future rather than its past. The South Lane superintendent attended and was invited to speak briefly about the successful completion of the three-year pilot program. He alluded to the state department of education's impending investigation in an offhand manner that almost made SPECS in South Lane sound like a demonstration project:

> The state is coming in next month—pretty much at my insistence—to conduct an investigation . . . We were at a stage when we needed a pause. The teachers didn't know that I was that agreeable, but I was, so I let them talk me into it.

I declined a similar invitation during the site review to relate any interesting anecdotes from my fieldwork. The chairman of the review panel immediately explained that he did not really expect me to do so while the fieldwork was still in progress. Once the superintendent had his say, no further review of the South Lane project was included in the agenda.

Implementation and research were both major topics for review, but progress on implementation did not lend itself to the freewheeling scrutiny customary in such review proceedings. Attention shifted to a critical review of the proposed research. As the meeting continued, the developer-director became increasingly uncomfortable with the realization that the extent of unrest in South Lane might never be mentioned, and at the end of the first day's meeting he volunteered a detailed explanation of recent events there. His effort at getting the problems fully into the open seemed to provoke no special concern among the review panelists, and there was no call for more detail.

Eternal Vigilance

At first, South Lane teachers were amazed whenever they learned of other school districts that had heard about them. Sometimes the information links could be traced to friends, or friends of friends, who served as message carriers between teachers in districts suffering under one form or another of PPBS/accountability. Often it was impossible to trace how teachers from as far away as Connecticut had heard about the SPECS Committee's activities.

The teachers' role in spreading the word on SPECS in South Lane was limited to these seemingly chance encounters until they learned that their superintendent had (at least on one occasion, but usually referred to in the plural) spoken at a large gathering of possible SPECS adopters. A teacher later summarized the SPECS Committee's reaction to the discovery:

> Now the superintendent is spreading nationwide the glories of his work with SPECS . . . That's the same thing he did here that got us so mad—telling things to the board and the press that were not true. So we want to be a thorn in their side. It's our professional obligation to warn unsuspecting school districts throughout the United States.
>
> We'll bird-dog the superintendent's every move and contact any district

> that he goes to. We don't just want to send out negative information, but we do want to let people know what happened.

Neither the superintendent nor the SPECS development and implementation unit were attempting to hide their efforts on behalf of SPECS. Teachers learned of the superintendent's activities through an article in his monthly bulletin to all South Lane staff intended to convey the enthusiasm that greeted his remarks before a nationwide meeting of people interested in SPECS and his appreciation to his entire staff for their efforts with SPECS.

Members of the SPECS Committee had often discussed the need to inform teachers in other districts about SPECS, but they had never thought of a practical way to proceed with the task. Now it occurred to them that districts interesed in SPECS would probably send teacher representatives to meetings like the one the superintendent had attended. They pondered how to obtain a list of districts interested in SPECS. The development staff obliged them by publishing that very information in its first issue of *Perspectives.* About two months later (February 1975), the teachers' association in each district named in the SPECS newsletter received a letter written by a member of the SPECS Committee. The letter announced that "SPECS was piloted in our school district five years ago" and went on to explain, "We believe we have a professional obligation to inform school districts which are considering SPECS of the problems our district has had with it." The letter brought no avalanche of return mail to the South Lane Education Association, but it did set telephones jangling, especially at CASEA. One SPECS coordinator later reported that in his district the letter "dropped like a bomb."

The incident provided an abrupt reminder that the SPECS saga in South Lane was not closed. A member of the central office staff reported later:

> The superintendent was personally hurt—he took it hard—when SLEA sent letters out to other districts. He thought that we were beyond that kind of action. But I just shrugged my shoulders and said, "They're at it again!"

Members of the SPECS Committee felt both weary and wary. At the time I was bringing my fieldwork in South Lane to a close, they reflected on their efforts and felt they had, in fact, made a difference. Whether or not they would again need to revive the ghost of implementation past remained to be seen. As one teacher observed:

> We've fought this all on our own time. And not one penny of district money has gone to help us. We've acted as watchdogs. Now I see us as dormant—as long as they don't start waving the flag.

The Ghost of Implementation Present

The SPECS project as originally funded was based on three major assumptions: that SPECS as a system was capable of implementation, that SPECS would be implemented in some unspecified number of districts, and that research could be carried out at some of those implementation sites. Two years after the "SPECS Party" the development team was still expending most of its energy on site development. Although the emphasis of the developmental effort had gone more and more into perfecting the teacher materials of Component Three, interested districts were encouraged to try any part of SPECS that seemed attractive. District after district made an initial inquiry but proceeded no further; occasionally a district seemed about to make a commitment to SPECS but then dropped out. In the spring of Year Five, the most advanced implementation in progress was in Butte, Montana, where 12 out of 15 elementary teachers in two small schools were reportedly quite enthusiastic about how SPECS had helped them organize the instructional program in some subject areas. "SPECS is alive and well in Butte, America," reported their enthusiastic SPECS coordinator.

The Bremerton, Washington site represented the first breakthrough and the first heartbreak. The would-be SPECS coordinator in Bremerton later summarized, "The district underwent a most intensive but short-lived involvement with SPECS. It has now aborted, and we have no further plans to implement it." Out of Bremerton's intensive involvement came a model master plan for implementing SPECS, but characteristically, the plan was so exhaustively detailed that it may have discouraged subsequent adoptions. In reviewing the demise of the potential new site, particular note was made of newspaper accounts describing SPECS in South Lane that were "widely circulated" in Bremerton. But other important factors also contributed to Bremerton's eventual rejection of a SPECS implementation. These factors included 1) a lack of strong support for accountability at the state level, 2) a lack of strong interest in SPECS at the district level, 3) the reluctance of district administrators to get involved in a districtwide program innovation, 4) the diminishing amount of federal funds available to subsidize efforts with innovative programs, and 5) a reticence of key district staff members to become closely engaged with CASEA as active partners in implementation but passive subjects of research.

Shortly after the Bremerton site failed, GLC joined the ranks of the "ghosts" when it announced that it was phasing out the division that had been handling the SPECS implementation. "The news ruined my Christmas," the developer reported, but terminating the partnership with GLC eliminated a somewhat contrived division of labor and relieved the unaccustomed pressure for a return on venture capital. The developer regained some measure of control over the fate of the project, and the critical mass of the SPECS project shifted from the research component back to the combined tasks of development and implementation.

The development team, faced once again with the responsibility for locating implementation sites, quickly realized that the world was not beating a path to the project office, and so the developers stopped insisting that any district interested in implementing SPECS had to agree as well to becoming a research site. Priority clearly had to go to implementation, they argued; research could not be allowed to jeopardize implementation. The research team had heretofore assumed that it would have sites for conducting its work, but now its members recognized a growing hesitancy from the developer-director, who was intent on protecting the delicate "negotiation period" and was skeptical that the researchers would ever produce data of immediate interest to school people actually using SPECS.

The concern over school district sensitivity to research became so firmly entrenched that no member of the research component ever set foot in any district other than South Lane as long as the research component existed. Only after the research component was phased out did two of its former members conduct a brief series of personal interviews in two districts where the SPECS implementation had actually begun. Research, once the *raison d'etre* for the implementations, had now become the major threat to them. Implementation became the focus of the project and the measure of its success. "From now on," the Center director explained after announcing the phase-out of the research component, "we'll simply have to proceed on the basis, 'Let the buyer beware.' We will explain to any district that expresses an interest in SPECS that the materials have been tried but have not been systematically evaluated."

Even without the condition that participating districts would have to serve as research sites, the movement of districts toward implementation was so slow that the development staff devised its own taxonomy for noting minute increments of progress. In the optimistic climate of Year Four, the development team referred to two phases, the "preimplementation phase" and the "implementation phase." The preimplementation phase was further divided into an early stage of exploration and a later stage for systematic planning. "In the colloquial, we're calling the first part of this the 'stroking phase' or 'stroking period,'" explained one staff member. "I'd add 'feeling and caressing' to that," quipped another. In due time, the preimplementation phase was formally divided into "exploratory" and "preparatory" stages. "The first category includes what we call 'early exploratory,'" another staff member reported, only half in jest. "That means they just heard about us."

During Year Four and Year Five the list of districts in the preimplementation phase kept changing, but the box score remained about the same: many inquiries and explorations, some planning and introduction of Component Three materials, the cautious but apparently healthy implementation effort in Butte, and the "we-don't-really-have-SPECS-here-anymore" brand of SPECS in South Lane.

And what of PPBS in the mid-1970s? Had it, too, become a ghost? Opinions varied. A principal who had been instrumental in bringing SPECS into a New Jersey district but then had seen the implementation program shelved because of funding problems reported in April 1975:

> We do not have a wholesale adoption. We are in a holding pattern, trying to keep this thing alive and breathing. These things are probably going to be mandated in our state and we want to be ready when it comes.

In that same month, the educational journal *Phi Delta Kappan* carried an article by Stanford professor Michael Kirst that offered a quite different prognosis for PPBS. Copies of the article circulated quickly in the halls of CASEA and among teachers in South Lane. Its title: "The Rise and Fall of PPBS in California" (Kirst 1975:535). The question it addressed: "Why did PPBS almost become mandated state policy and then die so completely in 1972?"

The Ghost of Implementation Future

The SPECS project was haunted by another spectre shared by hundreds of other projects funded by the National Institute of Education and, I imagine, by projects funded by most other agencies. This is the spectre that the funding agency itself casts over any project's future. Behind the humor intended in project patois in which any "milestone" could become a "tombstone" (i.e., at any review point the project could be terminated) was the compelling fact that projects thrive or survive at the pleasure of the funding agency. Lofty ideals aside, the real clients of a project are its sponsors. He who pays the piper calls the tune.

SPECS was born in a new era of funding that made earlier times, when institutions rather than individual projects were funded, seem like R & D's good old days. In the new era, each project had to be responsive to Washington whimsy. At the end of 30 months of the SPECS project, the developer-director noted that the project proposal had undergone eight major revisions, each requiring almost a month to prepare. The project did not suffer any special harrassment; it simply operated under the same conditions that made life in all NIE-funded projects difficult and distracting (cf. Campbell 1975). At its worst, a project's life was sustained from day to day; at best, it lasted from one year's appropriation to the next.

This perpetual uncertainty was a direct consequence of the uncertainty surrounding the future of NIE itself. At the beginning of Year Five (fall of 1974), a critical site visit by NIE personnel was planned to review the work of the research component and assess progress toward implementation. At the time, however, NIE was in such desperate financial straits that the resources of the SPECS project were instead drawn upon to enlist support for NIE. For a brief period NIE was not funded at all, while Congress worked out the trade-offs that ultimately resulted in the resignation of the NIE director and a severe cut in the NIE appropriations.*

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* An NIE document provides a succinct summary of the funding hassle (Campbell 1975:35):

> The NIE has run the Congressional appropriations gauntlet, and that

It is difficult now to recapture the strange aura of detachment and distraction that the funding crisis ("cliffhanger") produced when the ghost-of-implementation-future seemed to be hovering right in CASEA's very halls. One observer noted that the atmosphere seemed almost party-like, a marked contrast from the Center's typically sedate climate. Always optimistic that districts that had expressed interest in SPECS would in fact go through with the implementation, and momentarily relieved to have a number of districts in tow as possible adopters, the developer-director reflected during the height of the funding crisis: "It looks like we've won the battle but lost the war."

Just as SPECS bore the brunt of problems in South Lane (including problems only remotely related to SPECS), so the National Institute of Education served as the whipping boy for educational R & D in the early 1970s. NIE was once described to me by an observer close to it as "an organization under siege." What an insider said about another NIE-funded project might just as appropriately have been written about SPECS:

> When NIE's bizarre problems are added to the normal run of research and demonstration project problems, the wonder is that [the project] worked at all.

With NIE's possible demise only weeks away during one period in the fall of 1974, staff members in R & D centers and educational laboratories all over the country rallied to its defense. When the moment came to act, the directors of both CASEA and its recently established parent organization, CEPM, were in Washington.* In their absence, the director of the SPECS project mobilized CASEA's effort to flood Congress with messages in support of educational R & D. The SPECS office became a campaign headquarters, the developer himself staying up "half the night" telephoning his school contacts across the nation and asking their support through telegrams sent to the nation's capital. The developer also called an unprecedented all-staff meeting informing literally everyone employed in CASEA of the consequences of the failure of a renewed congressional appropriation to NIE, reminding them that those consequences would affect the employment of 75 people at the university and result in "12 years of investment

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story is by now legend. The budget has been in trouble ever since some unhappy early encounters between NIE's first Director and key Members of Congress. From a first-year "honeymoon" spending level of $142.6 million, the President's budget request for NIE shot up to $188 million in 1974, but a bare $75.7 million was granted. The amount dropped even further, to $70 million in the third year, 1975, against a request of $134 million. Even then, the result was a cliffhanger, as the Senate voted "zero dollars" and the House reduced its own Appropriations Committee recommendation from $100 million to $80 million.

* In July 1973, CASEA became a unit within the new Center for Educational Policy and Management (CEPM). The former director of CASEA became the head of CEPM, necessitating the appointment of a new director for CASEA, which now became the R & D division of the larger unit.

in educational R & D down the tube" and "service to schools, teachers, kids abandoned."

The funding crisis passed, but a sharply reduced level of federal support for educational R & D brought uncertainty about the continued existence of every project funded by NIE. Among CASEA's projects, SPECS was especially vulnerable because it was the biggest. The head of CEPM had already said that if budget cuts became necessary, he planned to cut what he could from each project "and the rest will just have to come out of SPECS." Suddenly the separation of the research and development components of SPECS took on new meaning; the research component could now be conveniently axed as a separate program that had virtually nothing to show for its months of activity.

The research component had borne the brunt of the first NIE review, partly because the examination of a research design is especially suited to the processes of panel review. The NIE spokesman conducting that review summarized the proceedings with carefully chosen words:

> We have glimpsed a world still a-making.... We are confronted with some persistent puzzles in the distinction between what can be done and what has been accomplished so far. This seems to necessitate looking again down the road at some technical pieces.

He subsequently submitted what was described as a "somewhat equivocal report" that supported the separation between research and development and argued on behalf of the research component, while warning that the research effort had yet to show its mettle.

At the time of the planned follow-up review, NIE's sole preoccupation was with its own survival, so no one ever took that intended second look. In the absence of a formal evaluation, project decisions were negotiated directly between CASEA personnel and the project officer at NIE. The project officer's equivocation reflected both his assessment of the project and the constantly shifting winds at NIE that favored developmental activities one moment and research activities the next. In September 1974, the director of CEPM reported that the project officer had "come full circle and now sees the research dimension as critical and the developmental work as supplementary." Three weeks later, he reported that the emphasis at NIE had shifted again, this time to developmental and field-oriented work. When major policy changes were shifting at that rate, the director reflected, all one could do was to try to maintain a balance within each project and point to whatever elements seemed most fashionable at the moment: "Changes are coming so fast all we can do is seemingly emphasize one dimension or the other of what we are doing."

There was less evidence of equivocation in a new set of budgetary requirements laid on NIE-funded projects: each R & D center was to draw up contingency plans describing how it would absorb funding cuts of 5 percent, 15 percent, 25 percent, and 35 percent. The head of CEPM announced to all CASEA staff that a 5 percent cut was the only decrease that could be absorbed equally by all projects. For any reduction greater than that, the research component of SPECS would be phased out. "If the funding decision had to be made today," he stated early in October," the research side has accomplished so little that it would be unlikely to receive funding anyway." However, were the research component to be phased out, he added, the research capability of the SPECS developmental unit would be stepped up to provide at least "some formative research" on SPECS, "admittedly biased in favor of the project and designed to make it more effective."

When NIE's fate was finally decided—it was funded, but at a reduced level—CASEA's budget was cut proportionately, and within the project the work of the research unit came to an abrupt halt. In fact, members of the research component never again met formally--the unit simply ceased to exist. Provision had earlier been made to avoid abrupt terminations among personnel, so no individual attached to the research unit left the Center until the end of the academic year, but the research effort itself became another ghost.

Phasing out the research unit proved to be only the beginning. Midway through Year Five, just two years after the SPECS Party heralded plans for five years of new work, word was received that all SPECS funding was to terminate by November 25, 1975. As early as January of that year, an NIE staff member confided that SPECS was "in the coffin and just waiting for someone to nail on the lid."

In March 1975, several members of the project staff traveled to Washington in a last-ditch effort to have the project extended through the 1975-76 school year. They returned home with little hope and a sense of exasperation that they had not even been given an attentive hearing. But their plea was effective after all. Although they received only 75 percent of their proposed budget, they did win a reprieve sufficient to allow one final burst of effort to try to get SPECS implemented in one or more districts where plans were already underway, to continue the modest implementation efforts in progress, and to complete promised rewriting and reporting tasks. In August 1975, CASEA even received additional, unrequested funds to aid in centerwide dissemination efforts. But by then there was no project member left who could fully appreciate the irony of superfluous funding. Individual after individual had found a way to shift assignment within the institution or had gone elsewhere. There was still a SPECS development team, energetic, experienced, even optimistic—but not one person who had attended the original SPECS Party was associated with the project.

At the same time individuals in various R & D centers were blaming NIE for the difficult conditions under which they were forced to work, teachers in South Lane had begun to wonder what NIE had done to monitor the SPECS project. In the last meeting between CASEA researchers and representatives of SLEA's SPECS Committee, a teacher asked "Did NIE ever evaluate the SPECS project?" The answer was no. In a similar vein, individuals with career interests in research and development were wondering who—if anyone—was responsible for monitoring NIE. Piqued by the latest set of new directives just received from NIE, the head of CEPM observed one day:

> Somebody ought to be taking a look at how NIE is operating, with its power struggles, shifting policy, and the problems caused for R & D centers and for schools by the constant changes and indecision.

Exorcism and the New Era

Clearly, no funding agency can stay in business by funding failures. Therefore the business of funded projects is to demonstrate that they are successes. Success is not optional; as suggested by this comment in an in-house review of NIE, success is a basic requirement for the continued life of a project:

> We know that the review pressure within NIE—and similar R & D organizations—forces project managers to declare everything an unqualified success.

SPECS was a successful project because it had to be successful. In a moment of unparalleled enthusiasm, the head of CEPM once stated, "I have the impression of a feeling at NIE that this program is viewed as one of their better efforts, and there's probably a good deal of receptivity to the idea of allowing more time and money for it." As money became scarcer and NIE needed some highly visible success of its own, however, that support waned. Support might well have diminished completely had not a case been made for giving the SPECS materials an adequate trial.

The problem of having to achieve success is shared by all federally funded projects; the means for accomplishing it are not. Each project takes on its own distinct style, reflective at least in part of the personal styles of individuals in its key roles. The SPECS project was written under the supervision of its first director, with general agreement that he was the right man for the job. His early and unexpected departure from CASEA was a severe blow; as the head of CEPM often said, "We were really counting on him." In naming the other codeveloper of SPECS as the new project director, the head of CEPM figuratively assigned the project a new personality.

The new developer-director was intent on making a success of SPECS as both a personal and professional objective. The project operated with a kind of "technical honesty" that emphasized its accomplishments and minimized or ignored its shortcomings. Under the prevailing mode of expediency, problems were simply explained away so that the project became what it had to become—an unqualified success. If it is unlikely, it is at least conceivable that the project might have been a success by showing that SPECS did not work, or tracking how a PPBS-inspired set of procedures underwent such a transformation during implementation that its intent as a management system was never achieved. But with the chief designer of SPECS occupying the role of project director, SPECS itself was the candidate for success. Loyalty superseded objectivity among the personal qualities required of project staff members. That requirement introduced a divisive note among the staff that first produced the separation between the research and development units, then later severed the research effort from the source of project life itself—money. The project's skeletons were piled in the closet, presumably forgotten as past mistakes that could be dismissed if one accepted the optimistic view that we-can-make-this-work-if-we-just-keep-at-it. The project director became a super salesman.*

Success nonetheless remained elusive for the SPECS project. That elusiveness was a function of a host of elements, only some of which were immediately related to the project. In the spring of 1975, after six years of struggling with the materials, the personnel problems of an ever-changing staff, and NIE's constantly changing directives, the developer-director asked to be relieved of his management responsibilities in order to "devote as much time as possible to completing the revised materials." The developer said that he felt as if a great weight had been lifted from his shoulders; others expressed opinions ranging from the observation that he had "successfully managed to alienate all but one of the people who had ever worked on the project" to sympathy for his exhaustive efforts and acknowledgment of his capacity for attention to detail. Within a month of resigning the directorship, the developer announced that he had accepted an appointment at another university.

The project's third and final director was the man who had originally worked with SPECS at GLC. He brought a totally different administrative style under quite different circumstances to a markedly different project. Though he had long been associated with SPECS, he was not personally involved in the project as his two predecessors had been. The project he inherited was now concerned only with completing and trying the revised SPECS materials—in any combination, to whatever degree a cooperating district wished, and without any research obligation other than voluntary participation in a modest "consumer information study." The SPECS project now had a final terminating date (August 1976), and in its last days it was almost impossible to make it either fail or succeed in a way that could affect the project.

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* To the best of my knowledge this has been the typical pattern followed by those R & D centers that directed their efforts into a single major effort. Another illustration of the developer-turned-salesman was provided by House in his case study of an educational innovation:

> [Name] has ceased to be a professor and has become a super salesman, extolling the many virtues of his "product" while concealing its deficiencies. He exaggerates the amount of courseware available to any one user by a factor of 10 or so, and he similarly misrepresents the number of schools, colleges and industries "using" the system (House 1974:194).

The new director's personal style was casual and almost disarmingly open. He saw his one major task as giving SPECS a fair trial:

> We cannot have a true field test of SPECS if it's "hands on" from the Center. If SPECS deserves to live, it deserves to live for its own vitality, not because we continue pumping life into it.

His approach to dealing with the project's accumulated ghosts and skeletons was to get everything out in the open, and so, in April 1975, the second SPECS Field Test Conference was convened. Like the first nationwide SPECS conference, the second conference was attended by SPECS developers, SPECS field consultants, enthusiastic representatives from districts currently involved with implementation, and representatives from districts in the exploratory phase. The South Lane superintendent was there, and so were the district's SPECS coordinator, an enthusiastic principal, and three very enthusiastic South Lane teachers.

But something new had been added—an opportunity for dissenting voices and a chance to look for oneself. The meetings were held at a hotel just a few blocks from CASEA and the agenda included an afternoon bus trip to visit schools in the South Lane School District. Visitors were free to choose where to go and whom to see. Invited panelists included not only carefully selected enthusiasts but also representatives from Bremerton and from an inactive site in New Jersey. The opening session of the conference included a panel discussion in which the South Lane superintendent and a decidedly pro-SPECS teacher shared the podium with three members of SLEA's SPECS Committe. Two of the SPECS Committee members presented a detailed review of the problems that South Lane teachers had experienced with the materials and the manner in which the implementation there had proceeded.

Reaction to the comments made by representatives from the SPECS Committee and to the conference in general were surprisingly mixed. Representatives from several districts considering a trial of SPECS expressed more interest in what the current form of SPECS might do for their districts than in what an earlier version had done in South Lane. The superintendent of South Lane was pleased to hear reviews of how new implementations were proceeding and pointed out how they demonstrated that the "same mistakes weren't having to be repeated." He was less pleased with the public airing of his district's problems—he likened the South Lane panel discussion to performing a striptease act for out-of-town guests. Representatives from districts newly involved with SPECS or districts planning to become involved during its final year (Year Six) said they saw virtually no relationship between the problems described by South Lane teachers and their own implementation efforts. Current efforts were characterized by voluntary participation in limited curricular areas with better developed materials and more consultant help. Under such conditions SPECS was modestly acknowledged for being "helpful with planning."

Indications that past mistakes would not be made again were counterbalanced by other indications that they might indeed be repeated. During a break between sessions, I talked to a schoolman from a district that I thought had long since given up plans to implement SPECS because of teacher resistance. Apparently assuming that I would be pleased to hear otherwise, the schoolman assured me that the district's central office had never dropped its interest but was proceeding rather covertly with the implementation:

> We're working on Components One and Two. And some work is going on in Components Four and Five. But we're going at it backwards to get in Component Three. We're careful not to call it SPECS because the teachers won't stand for it. They're dead set against it. So we're having them define the competencies that the kids need, and then we're asking them what teacher performance objectives can get us to achieve those competencies. We're doing Component Three, but the teachers don't know it!

He volunteered an opinion on the South Lane panel discussion as well:

> Did you hear that presentation on Monday morning by those teachers from South Lane? I thought that was too goddam bad. That wasn't the teachers talking. The union was telling them what to say. It wasn't even their own words!

Conference participants were polled both formally and informally by the development team for their impressions of the meeting. Subsequently they received a 26-page conference report that included a summary of responses to the formal questionnaire. The visit to South Lane and the opportunity to discuss SPECS with past and present users were noted as strengths of the conference. The "honesty of panel members in presenting their views of SPECS" received special mention.

Shortly after the meeting I asked an individual who had been both a participant and long-time observer of the SPECS project what he thought of the conference. He expressed admiration for the remarkable candor that characterized the sessions, but he took exception to the mundane level of the presentations, discussions, and questions that constituted the formal agenda. His sardonic assessment of the conference seemed as well to summarize the whole project—"This is what happens when universities go whoring after federal dollars."

PART II

The Case Study as A Class of Events

Prologue to Part II

WHAT I HAVE PRESENTED to this point is essentially the history of an effort to implement a particular innovation in a particular school district. However, preparing such a chronicle of events has not been my main purpose in writing this book. As an ethnographer, I am more interested in natural history than in history, in the generic rather than the unique. Natural history seeks to discover what is typical of a class of events (cf. Becker 1963). I will now look at the SPECS project and its fate in South Lane as representative of a class of events that reflect an important feature of educator subculture—the penchant for improvement through change. I have shown how my inquiries among educators led to some understandings of SPECS. Now the inquiry makes a turnabout to ask how the examination of events surrounding the SPECS implementation helps us understand something about educators.

Just as among human beings, every project is in certain respects like all other projects, like some other projects, and like no other project.* For the remainder of this book, I will focus mainly on the similarities between SPECS and other R & D projects, the similarities between the particular "actors" (developers, administrators, teachers) in the SPECS case and others in similar posts elsewhere, the similarities between the South Lane School District and other school systems. To proceed with this analysis, it is necessary to introduce an analytical framework that will make such comparisons possible. The chapters of Part II present such a framework. In Part III that framework is used to re-examine and probe the events of the case study—not only as a unique and specific course of events, but also as an example of the class of events known collectively as educational innovation.

An Analytical Framework

Anthropologists have an abiding interest in cultural change, or what they often refer to as "cultural dynamics," the nexus between continuity and change. A project like SPECS that is self-consciously committed to producing change begs the question, "What changed and what did not?" However, change proves to be a bit elusive in circumstances where the fieldworker must simultaneously confront short-run and long-run changes, behavior changes and attitude changes, and changes imposed at one level (e.g., on teachers) that may or may not be producing change at another level (e.g., in classroom interactions with pupils). This elusiveness was apparent in the SPECS case, where the stimulus for change was provided without any definite direction for the change to take. (Recall that SPECS was described as neutral, a means for helping the teacher do better whatever he or she was doing in the first place.)

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*Clyde Kluckhohn and Henry Murray penned these words years ago—but in regard to humankind, not educational projects (1953:53).

Rather than looking at change itself, as educators are inclined to do, my inclination was to look at the ways educators organize on behalf of their own or others' efforts at change. On what basis and under what circumstances do different subgroups of educators unite as a result of activities focused self-consciously on change? What is the underlying social structure that accommodates differing commitments to change without causing the whole system to fall apart? How and why do people agree or disagree on what needs to be changed? What purposes, values, and ideals do all the different subgroups of educators hold in common?

In studying the SPECS implementation in South Lane, my attention was drawn to what I could observe directly and to what I could inquire into indirectly—not to change itself, but to the different meanings produced by the effort to impose change. To structure my investigation, I needed to identify a social network broad enough to include all the educator roles involved—classroom teachers, R & D staff, members of the state department of education, principals, and central office personnel. I tried to identify important variations in the ideational systems of these different subgroups of educators, while recognizing that they also share a common ideology as professionals involved with American public education. And I sought to understand how individuals with sometimes quite divergent responsibilities and commitments were bound together as members of a common subculture.

My attempt to make sense of what I observed led me to examine the subculture of professional educators for its structural similarities to a *moiety* system. It is my thesis that the attempt to implement SPECS in South Lane, in common with the host of similar efforts to introduce educational change that pervade the activities of professional educators, can be explained and understood through an analogy to a moiety form of social organization. The moiety analogy provides a useful heuristic for examining how, and perhaps even why, educators appear able simultaneously to direct continuous efforts to producing changes and yet maintain the remarkable continuity that characterizes American schools.

Before proceeding with the analysis that the moiety analogy invites, it is essential to introduce and examine the term moiety itself. This calls for both a review of its customary usage in cultural anthropology and an appraisal of its potential as a model for viewing contemporary educator subculture. An introduction to the moiety concept and a discussion of its application is provided in chapter 5. For readers willing to take a somewhat esoteric detour, chapter 6 reviews and illustrates the characteristics of moieties as reported in traditional ethnographic accounts. The analysis of educator subculture in moiety perspective, based on an examination of the SPECS implementation, begins with chapter 7.

Chapter 5

Moieties:
A Perspective for Analysis

MOIETY: one of two mutually exclusive divisions of a group.
—Felix Keesing (1958:430)

THE TERM MOIETY comes from a French word, *une moitié*, meaning half. As used by anthropologists, the term appears in discussions of social organization and customarily refers to one of two mutually exclusive divisions within a group (cf. Keesing's definition above). The critical requirement is not numerical equality between the divisions but that there can be only two of them. Thus Paul Bohannan writes:

> A moiety is any group based on any principle, so long as there are only two such groups in the total society (Bohannan 1965:142).

This broad definition suits the use of the term that will be made here and is consistent with its use by at least some anthropologists. Nevertheless, anyone familiar with the anthropological study of social organization may feel some hesitancy. For one thing, such a broad definition may appear to make moiety organization virtually synonymous with "dual division." Some anthropologists do speak of moieties in one breath and dual organization in the next (cf. Bohannan 1965:142; Hobel 1972:447), but for the purposes of this discussion moieties will be considered as a particular type of dual organization, one that provides greater specificity and direction for analysis. Thus the analogy is undergirded by the more flexible concept of a dual division that would have been easier to use but less discerning as an analytical perspective.*

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* One might expect that given the choice between dual organization and moiety as analytical concepts, the latter would always be preferred. However, in his examination of the social organization of the Eastern Pueblos, particularly the Tewa, anthropologist Alfonso Ortiz has demonstrated how under certain circumstances analysis is enhanced by shifting from the narrower concept to the broader one (Ortiz 1965).

A characteristic feature often associated with moieties is exogamy, the practice of choosing a marriage partner from the moiety opposite to one's own. E. A. Hoebel provides a definition of moiety at once more restrictive and more familiar than Bohannan's:

> When a tribal society is divided into two unilineal halves, each half is called a moiety.... Moieties are exogamous with few exceptions; each moiety supplies the other with its marriage partners (Hoebel 1972:447, 449).

Clearly if the presence of moieties is predicated on the exchange of marriage partners, and if moieties are never found except with associated marriage rules, then there can be no such thing as a moiety within the educator subculture. However, within the traditional ethnographic literature some societies are described as having a moiety form of organization despite the absence of a marriage rule. The possible ambiguity surrounding the term seems to pose no special problem as long as anthropologists are careful to point out whether they restrict their use of moiety or apply it to "any group based on any principle," provided only that the society is comprised of two such groups. Another resolution has been to employ qualifying terms such as "moiety-like" or "pseudo-moiety." Anthropologist G. P. Murdock has suggested the latter term for social divisions that are not based on reference to descent groups. Murdock writes:

> Social units that simulate kin groups but are not based upon a rule of descent, e.g., the pseudo-moieties of some tribes that live on opposite sides of a village square or oppose one another in games, and whose membership is determined on some non-kinship basis, must not be confused with genuine unilinear kin groups, even of non-exogamous types (Murdock 1949:47).

Distinguishing true moieties from pseudo-moieties does no particular disservice to my argument and calls attention to a critical aspect of my analytical perspective. For editorial convenience, I will refer to educator moieties as though they exist in fact and are true moieties, but any reader who insists on the marriage and/or descent rule criterion as the critical attribute of a moiety may prefer to substitute the term "pseudo-moiety" whenever I use the word moiety. The central issue is not whether educator subculture is a moiety system consonant with some particular definition but whether utilizing the moiety model is sufficiently helpful for understanding and explaining educator subculture. My position is that the moiety model accomplishes that quite well, not only for examining the processes involved during the SPECS implementation but for explaining and understanding educator subculture as observed in myriad other settings.

How perfect the analogy seems between the educator moiety system and the moiety systems described in the traditional ethnographic literature depends on the reader's assessment of the descriptive data already presented and on the description and analysis that follow. The most serious drawback I see with the analogy is that it tends to focus attention on social structure rather than on social process. Because structure is less elusive than process, one can easily become overattentive to it in the quest for careful description. In my analysis, I will try to devote sufficient attention to process as well as to structure, but I will begin with structure.

Teachers and Technocrats

The terms I have assigned to the two "halves" of educator subculture are *teachers* and *technocrats*. Whether those two labels are the most appropriate choices is perhaps debatable. Any educator who is assigned to the technocrat moiety seemingly by default needs to understand that in the model as proposed, position is a useful clue to moiety membership but does not absolutely determine it. An attractive feature of the moiety model is that it accommodates individual proclivities; one may have a job assignment ordinarily identified with one moiety and yet hold membership in the other. In the ranks dominated by technocrats, there are some individuals who maintain their identity with and as teachers. Conversely, there are budding technocrats in the teacher ranks who stand ready at the first opportunity to step into formal roles consistent with their underlying identification with other technocrats. But let me return to the choice of labels before exploring these distinctions.

Identifying Moiety Names

The label of "teacher" is an obvious choice; with hundreds of thousands of teachers in American elementary and secondary schools, the teacher moiety clearly constitutes the larger of the two moieties. In most formal educational units, including every operating school district, the teachers outnumber the technocrats by as much as five or ten to one. However, in educational organizations that do not have express teaching functions (e.g., state departments of education, educational labs, R & D centers, and the administrative offices of large school districts) technocrats are normally in the majority and sometimes occupy all the professional positions.

It is my thesis that the moiety division of teachers and technocrats permeates the entire educator subculture. While any particular unit may be comprised of members of only one moiety, the two moieties are nonetheless a system characteristic. Large school districts tend to replicate the system in miniature, so that the division is more apparent. Smaller districts may have only one or two members of the technocrat moiety, and thus system characteristics may sometimes be regarded instead as differences of personal style or role perception. Without the involvement of some outsiders in the affairs of the South Lane School District, for example, there would have been too few technocrats to identify as a moiety; however, the combined efforts of a handful of technocrats outside the school district and the few resident technocrats within it proved capable—at least for a while—of overwhelming a large number of teachers.

An individual whose principal assignment is to teach is probably a member of the teacher moiety; a professional educator whose principal assignment is not in teaching is probably a technocrat. It is essential, however, to assess each person's status individually. Indeed, one of the appealing aspects of the moiety division for looking at professional educators is that it takes into account personal ethos as well as professional assignment. It is important to stress that there are teachers in technocratic assignments and technocrats in teaching assignments. Earlier analytical divisions among educators have depended too exclusively on job assignment. Classic sociological studies developed on factory models and frequently cited by educators, such as Roethlisberger and Dickson's *Management and the Worker* (1939), have provided crisp distinctions between formal categories that mask subtle but important differences in educator orientations.

My use of the term "technocrat" is intended to describe a role rather than to represent a residual category (such as "nonteachers") or an implied superiority (as might be suggested by labels like "rationalists" vs. "irrationalists"). The very term technocrat was suggested by anthropologist Sheldon Smith in an earlier and independent study of the Cottage Grove community:

> The superintendent was expected to be an administrator and technocrat and to specialize not only in technical matters but also in public relations. Interestingly, his role was shifting towards that of public relations (politics) to such an extent that the role of business administrator was being taken over by another individual to leave the superintendent more time (Smith 1972:236).

Further correspondence with anthropologist Smith convinced me that his label for the superintendent seemed equally suitable for all individuals whose professional lives are directly involved with education but who do not engage in the direct delivery or immediate supervision of classroom instruction. Smith subsequently elaborated on his meaning of the term technocrat as he used it in his study of Cottage Grove:

> The technocrat is an individual who either views or is thought to view the political process mechanistically as an ideal state of political organization characterized by a decision-making flow from an expert down through bureaucratic levels to the public. This type of organization is tied to the resolution of technical problems and, of course, is what one expects in a corporation.
>
> A technocrat should be appointed and he should be able to operate outside of the normal political process. Ideally he should not be a politician—this is part of what I call the public mythology. The technocrat is expected to conform to the above model, but no one really believes he does. He is successful to the degree that he can present a technocratic image yet develop a stable political base.
>
> In other words, a technocrat like the superintendent of schools has his support group. It is not difficult to discover who belongs to the group since there is little attempt to cover up. But it is not called nor does it consider itself a "political group." If the group uses any label at all, and it usually does not, it will call itself by some name indicating that it stands for the public interest. If the mayor of Cottage Grove develops

> a support base, the public will immediately label that base a "political" group. The bifurcation between "political" and "public interest" activity lies deep in American culture. Both are legitimate activities, but though they are similar, they are considered different activities because the two roles are conceived differently: the political role and the technocratic role (personal communication; see also Smith 1976).

The use of the term technocrat in this study is not related to the formal organization known as Technocracy, but rather to the more pervasive trend toward what some critics have called the "expert society." Nevertheless, Technocracy's motto, calling for "science vs. chaos" could well serve as a rallying cry for all technocrats. One critic, Theodore Roszak, cautions that technocracy leads to an emphasis on the technical rather than the scientific:

> By the technocracy, I mean that social form in which an industrial society reaches the peak of its organizational integration. It is the ideal men usually have in mind when they speak of modernizing, updating, rationalizing, planning. . . . In the technocracy everything aspires to become purely technical (Roszak 1969:5, 7).

The subtitle of Roszak's book, "Reflections on the Technocratic Society and its Youthful Opposition" suggests his strong antitechnocracy position, a view he constantly reinforces with such observations as his technocratic principle: "never let happen naturally and enjoyably what can be counterfeited by the technicians" (Roszak 1969:54n).

"Technicians" might have been a suitable alternate label for the moiety, but the word often takes on different meanings as it is applied at different levels in a hierarchy. At the bottom rungs, a technician is usually respected as someone with a special set of technical skills; for those in more responsible positions, to be labeled a technician may be less than an accolade. The issue is not hypothetical; within the ranks of the SPECS research component there was some discussion of whether the developers were "just technicians." Within the technocrat moiety there are probably some individuals who would be proud to be described as "educational technicians" and others who would be offended by that label.

The term "bureaucrat" seems to be too widely employed to have utility for my analysis here. It tends to focus unduly on formal administrative structures and thus excludes nonadministrative roles that are important in the education subculture. The roles of education professor, researcher, and developer are examples of roles better accommodated by the term "technocrat" than the term "bureaucrat." Similarly, the label of "administrator" or "manager" seems to exclude staff roles, while both staff and line positions can be subsumed under the rubric of "technocrat." If only for the sake of managing a manuscript, I am reluctant to use a coined term like "bureautechnocrat" (cf. Tesconi and Morris 1972).

I therefore settled on "technocrats" as a term intended to convey the orientation that one gets from Roszak's emphasis on modernizing, updating, rationalizing, and planning, or from the dictionary definition of a "technical expert, especially one exercising managerial authority," or from

Smith's picture of an apolitical, public-interest decision-maker. The ethos of educator technocrats is expressed by their commitment to rational decision-making—a commitment that goes beyond a mere preference for making wise choices. The technocrat insists that what is rational is always best and what is best is always rational.

Identifying Moiety Members

As soon as I recognized the analytical potential of the moiety model, I began thinking about ways to test for the "goodness of fit" between the idea and the real world I was observing in the study of SPECS. Because educators do not hold formal memberships in moieties and have traditionally eschewed giving outsiders any hint of within-ranks divisions, I could not simply ask people hypothetically to assign themselves to either moiety without the risk of inadvertently creating the very division I thought I had discovered. Yet I needed some basis on which I could sort educators into one or the other moiety.

Since the number of teachers far exceeds the number of people in all other educator roles, one way to begin the process of determining moiety membership was simply to assume that, unless there is evidence to the contrary, any particular member of the educator subculture is a teacher. The problems inherent in such a crude sorting technique prove to be problems within the teacher moiety itself. The teacher moiety is at once central to the subculture and a residual category into which any unspecified member is placed. Entry into the technocrat moiety is not so casual; the technocrat moiety is smaller and thus more manageable.

One of the vexing problems for teachers is that their ranks are swelled by great numbers of people who remain only briefly in a particular assignment or even in teaching as an occupation. There are also long-time teachers who take no interest in the socio-political aspects of their occupational group. Such individuals belong in the teacher moiety by reason of contract, but they are marginal to it as a social force, except in rare cases where they can or must (e.g., in a strike action) be mobilized. In the pilot study, there certainly were teachers who were uninvolved, uninterested, even oblivious to the rise and fall of SPECS.

In traditional societies, an individual does not necessarily know the moiety membership of all other members of the group; similarly, the moiety of any particular educator can often be determined only on the basis of personal knowledge. Position is a rough guide, but one needs to know more. The proportion of an individual's time devoted to teaching is a key indicator, as are his or her apparent commitment to teaching, extent of professional identification with teachers or technocrats, career ambitions, and so forth. To distinguish between moieties on an ideational basis, one might contrast those educators who regard teaching as the hope and challenge for a brighter tomorrow with those educators who regard teacher ineffectiveness as the biggest problem with education today. Members of either group may fantasize about how pleasant professional life would be without the other, yet in fact everyone realizes both are indispensable to keep the system functioning. At the extremes, though, are demands for the precious professional quality called "teacher autonomy" on one side and the efforts of technocrats enchanted with "teacher-proof materials" and mechanistic accountability systems on the other. To many teachers, SPECS epitomized teachnocracy in packaged form. To a smaller number of technocrats, SPECS looked like a way to improve the quality of educational output.

Evidence in Support of a Dual Division in Education

On occasion, when I have briefly recounted the course of events of SPECS in South Lane and proposed the moiety as a perspective for analysis, I have been asked if the moiety division was merely a unique adaptive response to the circumstances of that particular implementation effort. My answer is that the attempt at directed change made it possible to discern the moiety structure but that the moieties were "there all along." My thesis is that the moiety division extends throughout the entire educator subculture. The division is ever-present but only rarely seen. Moiety units are large and cumbersome, so the daily tasks of education are ordinarily handled in smaller units. But the usually latent moiety structure is apt to become evident in any group of educators when things threaten to get out of hand—as SPECS did in South Lane.

It is tempting to draw support for the moiety model from the divisions necessitated by teacher collective bargaining, but I am not satisfied that those formal divisions reflect natural distinctions in orientation among educators. In the long run, collective bargaining may well alter the existing structure of education, but I am skeptical that its rigidly conceived opposites will ever provide an accurate portrayal of educator subculture.

There is little question, however, that the internal composition of the educator moieties (particularly the technocrats) changes in response to changes in the society as a whole. The last two decades have been marked by an unprecedented expansion in the number and influence of persons in those educational roles that I have collectively labeled "technocrats." That label would not have seemed appropriate in the 1950s, nor would exactly the same roles have been identified as central then. As we shall see in chapter 6, such shifts within moiety groups have also been reported in the ethnographic literature.

As far as I know, neither the term "moiety" nor the broader concept of "dual division" has been used before in describing educator subculture, but many descriptive analyses of the educator subculture could be adapted to the moiety framework merely by substituting this new set of terms. This ready adaptation is due at least in part to the tendency of humans to differentiate themselves from others or to polarize the world about them through the use of simple dichotomies (cf. Hertz 1973:8). "To distinguish by means of antithesis," as Maybury-Lewis writes, "is one of the fundamental procedures of human thought" (Maybury-Lewis 1974:298).

There is ample evidence of educators' proclivity for dividing their professional world—or their own special domain within it—into two complementary and/or opposed groups. Let me illustrate with a potpourri of examples, beginning with William James' suggestion (often cited among educators) that people can be divided into the "tough-minded" and the "tender-minded" (James 1907:11; see also Herskovits 1951; Jackson 1968). Much has been made within educator circles of the dichotomy between "learner-oriented teachers" and "subject matter-oriented teachers" (cf. Henry 1960:297). The literature of educational administration is replete with paired contrasts that show a tendency to dichotomize. We find references to "task-oriented" vs. "consideration-oriented" principals (Halpin 1966) and "place-bound" vs. "career-bound" superintendents (Carlson 1962), as well as a conflict between a scientific management style characterized as "organizations without people" and a human relations style characterized as "people without organizations" (Bennis 1959:263, 266).

Those authors who dichtomize the whole educator subculture (rather than only a subsection of it as in the illustrations noted above) come even closer to anticipating the moiety model that I am proposing. Bud Khleif, for example, describes how a trainee program for superintendents must "knock the classroom orientation out" and make them " 'see the total picture' and idealize not teaching but 'administration' " (Khleif 1975:303). Charles Bidwell discusses the limitations of knowledge concerning the "interplay of bureaucratization and professionalism in the school" (Bidwell 1965:992). Albert Yee notes the "lack of relationship and compatibility" between classroom teachers and educational scholars (Yee 1974). Jeanne Chall contrasts the status of teachers with that of educational specialists, administrators, and researchers and calls for more collaboration between those interested in the "art of teaching" and others interested in the "science of instruction" (Chall 1975).

Based on his work in school curriculum development, anthropologist Fred Gearing notes the "institutionalized nonarticulation" between the educational subcultures of scholars and schoolmen. He describes how the two systems "contrast sharply in the conditions and purposes of work, in organizational style and form, in ascribed values, in freedom of allocating scarce time, in short, what is rewarded and what is punished in each system" (Gearing 1972:13). Had Gearing considered the possibility that his two educational subcultures were subdivisions of one social system rather than two distinct groups, he might well have employed the concept of a dual division in his analysis.

Mark Hanson seems to have tripped on the moiety structure without knowing it with his "Interacting Spheres Model" of the organizational characteristics of a school system, as the following excerpt shows:*

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* Of course, Hanson might argue that I tripped over his model and failed to recognize it.

> The Interacting Spheres model suggests the presence of two interacting spheres of influence, with some decisions formally delegated to administrators and others informally assumed by teachers. . . . Members of each sphere have developed strategies designed to aid them in indirectly managing behavior in the other sphere as well as strategies for defending their own sphere against attempted outside intervention (Hanson 1974).

One of the teachers in Hanson's study offered this observation:

> I sometimes feel . . . that there are two worlds. There is ours, we teachers have our concerns and our oneness, and the administrators have their concerns and their oneness. Sometimes the twain do not meet (Hanson 1976:320).

There is an important difference in Hanson's approach and my own; hopefully each approach will illustrate the value of its perspective. His model grows out of a sociological tradition and represents a conscious effort to transcend the existing bureaucratic model, although the model is applied to the school setting rather than to the entire educator subculture. The moiety model is an attempt to apply an existing anthropological concept in a new setting in order to see what the model asks of the data. This is the traditional anthropological approach — cross-cultural, comparative, and holistic.

Looking at Moieties

To examine the SPECS case study as anthropologists examine moieties in preliterate societies, I was faced with a choice between comparing that case with one particular moiety or identifying elements common to a generous sampling of anthropological literature. In the absence of any one account that seemed especially suitable, I have chosen the second alternative. The identification of those common elements is the substance of the next chapter. In this section, I will introduce the analytical framework that I intend to follow.

Most anthropological discussions of social organization give moieties rather short shrift but do not ignore them totally. Among the reasons for this is certainly the fact that moieties are intermediary units, as is apparent by looking at graphic representations of social organization (Figure 5-1, 5-2). Neither moieties nor phratries nor clans are essential units; it has been estimated that no more than 15 percent of all known societies exhibit the moiety form of social organization (Murdock 1956:135).

Even where moieties do exist, a level of organization that divides all members of a society into only two groups tends to play a minor role in day-to-day affairs. Human beings ordinarily accomplish their activities in smaller groups. Anthropologists have tended to focus on the family as the basic human social unit. Beyond the family, more attention has always been devoted to lineages and clans than to moieties. Indeed, lineages and clans are regarded by many anthropologists as the "keys to social organization" (cf. Schusky 1972:73).

Figure 5-1

Social Structure Viewed Externally as an Organization Hierarchy Linking Members of a Society Through Kinship (after Schusky 1972:75)

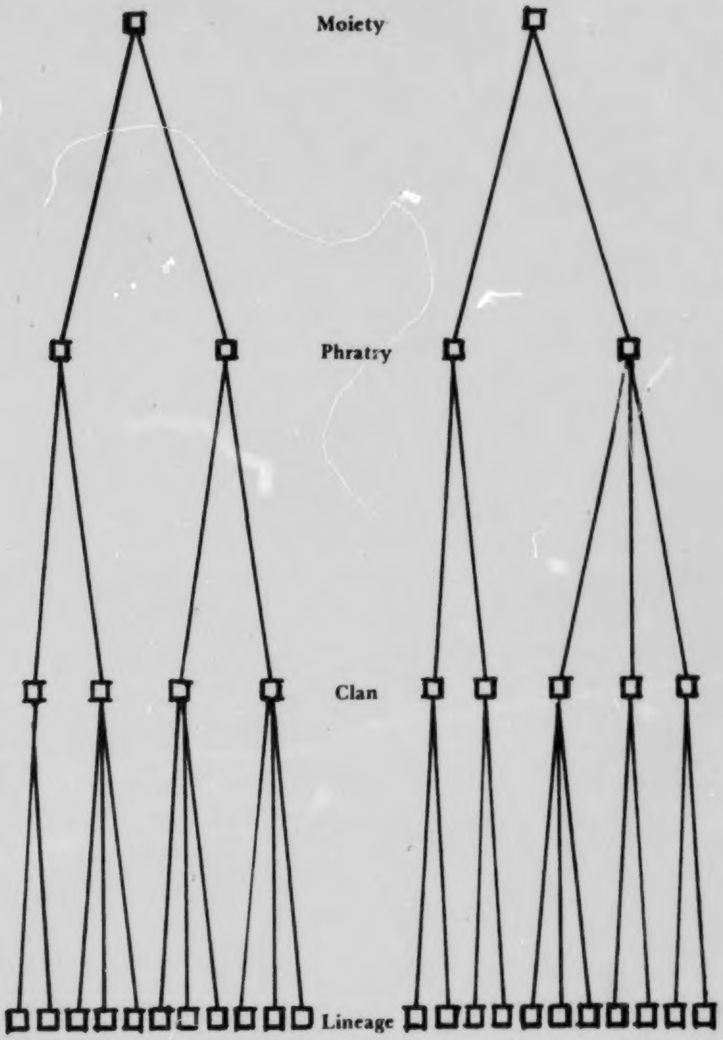
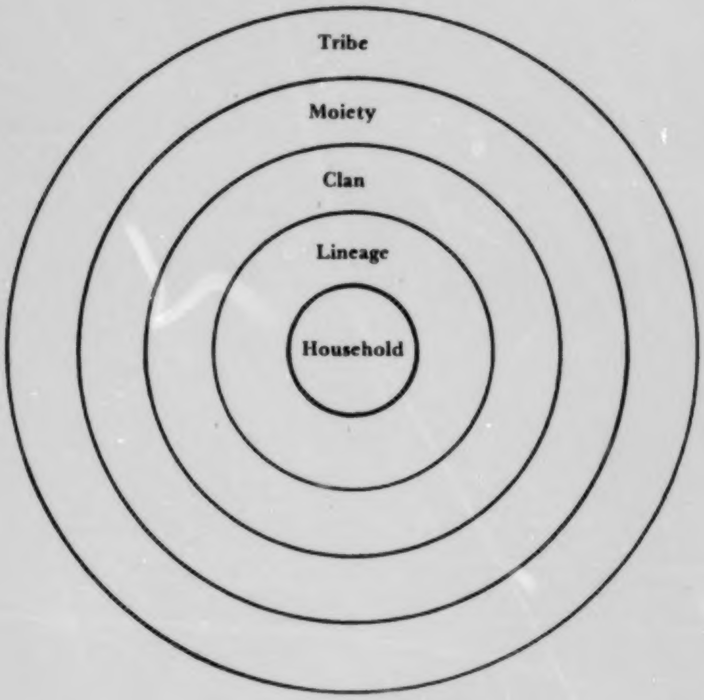


Figure 5-2

Social Structure Viewed from Within the System
as Spheres of Social Relations
(adapted from Sahlins 1968:15, 16)



Much of what can be said concerning interaction between members of units at one level of organization (e.g., moieties) also holds true for interaction between members at other levels (e.g., clans or lineages) (cf. Dozier 1966:46). Corresponding units at a similar level of organization (e.g., lineage, clan, moiety) tend also to be equivalent within a society regardless of their size. Structurally, as Schusky has noted, a lineage of 20 members may be equated with one of 300 members (Schusky 1972:71). Structurally a small moiety is equivalent to a big one. This is an important point to keep in mind in examining two groups that exhibit some remarkable differences in numerical size or operating style.

Like dinosaurs, moieties can grow very large, but great size proves to be their undoing. "Where both moieties and clans occur," writes Ralph Linton, "the former are ordinarily more limited in their functions and of less social importance, possibly because the larger size of the moiety makes the establishment of well-defined attitudes between the members and their organization into a cooperative unit more difficult" (Linton 1936:207). Lowie notes succinctly, "moiety solidarity is eclipsed by that within the lesser clan or family" (Lowie 1948:242). Teachers in South Lane noted how their reaction to the SPECS implementation served to unite them, but whatever unity they eventually achieved was months in the making, due to the absence of "well-defined attitudes between the members and their organization." My thesis is that the moiety organization in education becomes active and thus visible only at times of stress; the daily business of educators is ordinarily conducted by more responsive and closely knit subunits.

Common sense dictates that not every problem in schools takes on the proportions assumed by the SPECS controversy in South Lane. On the other hand, certain educational problems, particularly those related to broad social issues, are capable of uniting everyone within the system on behalf of a single cause or shared shibboleth. Students of social organization provide an analytical perspective that suggests why some efforts at educational change cause far more stir than others. The principle involved is "complementary opposition."

Complementary opposition has been described by Marshall Sahlins (Sahlins 1961; 1968) and applied to the analysis of an educational setting by Carol Colfer (Colfer 1975).* Sahlins asserts that complementary opposition is a "nearly universal" feature of human social organization (Sahlins 1961:322). According to Sahlins, "any opposition between groups (or members thereof) expands automatically to opposition between the largest equivalent lineages of which the contestants are respectively members" (p. 332). This principle holds that groups join together to confront any serious dispute or problem with a force equal and opposite to the circumstances at hand.

Antagonism toward SPECS in South Lane involved an ever-increasing number of subunits until members of the teacher moiety were able to muster resources equivalent to those being mustered by the technocrats. Yet despite the internal excitement, the system as a whole remained remarkably intact. Tension was contained almost exclusively within the educator subsystem. Had the original implementation effort been more modest, neither the subsequent challenges nor the responses would have been of such magnitude. Teachers observed time and time again, "If only THEY had tried this in one school, or in just one subject at a time, there wouldn't have been all this fuss." The magnitude of the implementation attempt determined the magnitude of the opposition. In no other district did SPECS provoke such turmoil at the same structural level as it did in South Lane.

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* Sahlins illustrates how the principle works among segmentary lineages that are unable to achieve "continuous integration" at higher levels, and thus are only temporary alliances between lineages or their subunits (Sahlins 1968:50). With Colfer, I believe the idea also has wide applicability within complex and well-elaborated organizational structures.

In traditional societies, moieties appear to have more stable and less dramatic functions to perform than did the moieties I have identified in the SPECS case. Educator moieties as I envision them may engage in a greater number of activities than their traditional counterparts as described in the anthropological literature. Wherever they are found, however, moieties do more than simply provide a structural basis for organizing opposition.

Robert Lowie, in his classic text *Social Organization*, identified four types of moiety interaction: complementarity, reciprocity, conceptual antithesis, and rivalry (Lowie 1948:242). *Complementarity* (Lowie actually used the term "complementary functions") refers to those functions that either moiety performs for the entire society. *Reciprocity* refers to those functions that either moiety performs for the other. *Conceptual antithesis* calls attention to the ways that members of either group distinguish their group from the other. *Rivalry* refers to particular activities or arenas in which moiety differences are publicly dramatized. Illustrations of these four types of interaction are provided in the next chapter. That discussion is preceded by a review of some frequently reported characteristics of traditional moieties that will later serve as a basis for assessing the "moietyness" of the educator subculture.

Chapter 6

Moieties in Traditional Anthropological Literature

The most useful conception of social structure is that it is a model or logical construct in the mind of the anthropologist.
—David Maybury-Lewis (1974:293)

UNLIKE SOME CONCEPTS in anthropology, the term moiety is not associated with a particular scholar, a particular "people," or a definitive essay or book. Nearly every anthropologist who has used the term in a general treatise on social organization or in a particular ethnographic study has felt free to provide either a new definition or a not-necessarily-typical example. The term moiety does not prompt confusion as much as it suffers from rather inconsistent use.

What is even more telling is that anthropologists have not generally berated each other for employing the term inappropriately or unnecessarily stretching its traditional use.* They have tolerated a range of definitions from a restrictive one describing a tribal society divided into two unilineal and customarily exogamous halves (cf. Hoebel 1972:447) to a broad one describing any group, so long as it consists of only two subgroups (cf. Bohannan 1965:142). One note of caution was introduced by anthropologist Peter Murdock years ago about distinguishing "genuine unilinear kin groups" from groups that "simulate kin groups but are not based upon a rule of descent" (Murdock 1949:47), although elsewhere Murdock himself has discussed moieties organized on political and local bases, as well as on social bases (Murdock 1956). In general, the term seems to lack rigor without causing undue concern.

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* Arthur Hippler's discussion of Athabascan social organization, in which he refers to "two or sometimes three moieties" (Hippler 1973:1530) is somewhat of an exception. His analysis of Athabascan culture and personality, specifically including his use of the term moiety, provoked a lively exchange in the *American Anthropologist* (1974:569-572; 1976:110-115). The exchange included a spoof refering to another dual division, the Northern Anthropologists and the Southern Anthropologists (McNeley 1974:571-2).

Some Frequently Reported Characteristics of Moieties

Ambivalence surrounding use of the term does not totally disappear when anthropologists refer to moieties in particular societies; however, a number of characteristics are frequently mentioned in ethnographic accounts describing moieties. I will begin this chapter by identifying and briefly discussing 11 of these characteristics, drawing upon a framework suggested by Robert Lowie in his book, *Social Organization* (1948). These characteristics are:

1) asymmetry,
2) associated marriage rules,
3) exchange of goods and services,
4) conscious recognition of the duality,
5) naming,
6) a principle of recruitment,
7) spatial arrangements,
8) use of contrasting decoration or ornamentation,
9) association with antithetical aspects of nature,
10) use of sacred emblems, and
11) competition in ceremonies and games.

It is important to note that although each of these characteristics may be identified in a particular society, only three among them—the *exchange of goods and services* (or, sometimes, the exchange of marriage partners), *conscious recognition of the duality*, and *a principle of recruitment*—appear with sufficient regularity in the literature to suggest that they may be critical attributes of moieties.

Rather than undertake the seemingly endless task of identifying and cataloguing such characteristics, I will draw particular attention to the critical functions traditionally performed by moieties and then look for evidence of similar functions in the case at hand. Lowie's list of characteristics provides a convenient starting point for reviewing the traditional literature.

Asymmetry

A reference to anything that is divided into two parts tends to imply that the parts are equal. The fact that moiety means "half" aggravates this tendency. I do not recall an anthropology text that does not graphically represent moieties and their subunits as essentially equal, even where care has been taken to avoid making each half appear identical (cf. Figure 5-1). Some ethnographers have described societies that consciously provide for the alternation of formal power between one moiety and the other (cf. Ortiz 1965:394) as evidence of how an apparently asymmetrical social structure assumes symmetry over time. It appears more prudent, however, to allow for the probability that the relationship between moieties may be asymmetrical in one or a number of important respects. As a matter of fact, Claude

Lévi-Strauss, the seminal source for much of the recent anthropological writing on dualism, has reversed his original argument for symmetry and has suggested that "symmetric" societies might best be considered as special cases of asymmetry for analytical purposes (cf. Maybury-Lewis 1974: 296).

As I will show when I examine the basic types of moiety interaction, the critical feature of both reciprocity and complementarity is not that all of a society's tasks are equally divided between two moieties, but rather that each moiety performs some exclusive functions for the opposite moiety or for the society as a whole. Even without delving into the precise nature of those tasks, it is apparent that if members of each moiety perform certain critical tasks, then each must be represented in order for the society to function.

Asymmetry may also be evidenced in a ranking relationship between moieties. Such rankings may be fixed, as among groups where one moiety always outranks the other, or they may be systematically alternated on some regular cycle (cf. Ortiz 1965:391). In his studies among the Bororo, Crocker found that ranking is avoided in that society by emphasizing differences among clans or between moieties.

> An informant will sometimes say that one clan is "poor" and another "rich," but this evaluation is always a relative statement, made in regard to distribution of a single item or of a small group of items. . . . Here again is an insistence that clans are intrinsically different. Since they lack any common dimension, they cannot be ranked with regard to one another. . . . The Bororo carry this process right up to the moiety level. Thus, several Exerae [members of one moiety] said to me on different occasions, "The Tugarege [opposite moiety] have many more things than we do, but ours are more beautiful, so it is equal." A Tugaregedu agreed with this but was quick to add, "We have some *very* pretty things too" (Crocker 1967:130).

The temptation to conclude, as Crocker's informant did, that opposing moieties are equal clearly appeals to many ethnographers. However, it is probably more accurate to assume that ordinarily moieties are not equal unless the evidence is overwhelming that they are. Maybury-Lewis argues that ranking between moieties is usually the case:

> If we accept that dual organization is the social expression of a way of looking at things, which classifies all phenomena antithetically, then we are enabled to understand the inequalities, which are so frequently associated with it. Antitheses are rarely symmetric except in the formal, tautological sense that they are antitheses. It is difficult to think of pairs of opposites which do not have evaluative connotations of the type good/bad, superior/inferior and so on. From this it would follow that one might expect the moieties in societies where dual organization obtains to be, more often than not, associated with a superior/inferior opposition . . . (Maybury-Lewis 1960:42).

Asymmetry is also suggested by the fact that within a particular society the internal organization of the moieties is not necessarily the same. Further, just as the internal organization of a moiety might be undergoing change, moieties themselves can change over time. As Lowie observes, "There is positive evidence that moieties are constantly evolving, disappearing, and reappearing" (Lowie 1948:246). To illustrate, he draws upon Rivers' study of the Toda:

> One clan had grown to such proportions... that in order to marry at all its members had to take spouses from all other clans, leaving very few people of the other clan to intermarry among themselves. Thus, there was a close approach to a typical dual organization, the hypertrophied clan assuming the part of one moiety and all the small clans jointly forming its complement (Lowie 1948:247).

Associated Marriage Rules

As I noted earlier, marriage rules are frequently associated with moieties and are critical to many definitions of the term.* However, exogamy does not appear to be an essential attribute of moieties. In some cases, Lowie reports, moieties may be endogamous—that is, marriage partners may only be taken from within the same group. Perhaps most surprising is the fact that some moieties are agamous; marriage rules are not part of the moiety system at all.

Lowie describes two alternative conditions that might underlie agamy. First, agamy "may mean that a once exogamous dual organization has relaxed the rule preventing marriage within its fold" (Lowie 1948:240). From fieldwork among the Sherente, Maybury-Lewis provides an illustration of a marriage rule that changed over time:

> Nowadays moiety exogamy is a thing of the past and young Sherente cannot even remember which moiety they are supposed to be in. Yet they continue to use a two-section relationship terminology, applying one set of terms to members of those clans who would in the old days have been in Ego's moiety and the other to members of the clans from the opposite moiety (Maybury-Lewis 1974:301).

The second condition suggested by Lowie is that kinship alignments in any particular society may never have extended to the moiety level of organization in the first place. Agamy, therefore, "may also mean that for some reason the sense of kinship has never been extended, or not fully extended, to the moiety" (Lowie 1948:240).

Ortiz, in a reexamination of the social organization of the Tewa-speaking Pueblos, raises questions about describing those moieties as endogamous; he points to alternative explanations (e.g., small size of the Winter moiety among the San Ildefonso, factionalism in Santa Clara) quite external to formal organization. As he suggests, if one moiety contains only three households it is too small either to provide marriage partners exclusively within its own group or to be the exclusive source of partners for the opposite moiety (Ortiz 1965:395).

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* Exogamy—marrying outside of one's own group—is perhaps the feature most commonly associated with moiety organization; in fact, in some societies, such as the Haida and Tlingit, moieties appear to serve no other function (Rosman and Rubel 1971:35).

Exchange of Goods and Services

If the exchange of marriage partners is not invariably associated with moiety organization, the literature does suggest that moieties characteristically make exchanges of some sort. The following examples (drawn from Lowie's original essay and from more reliable recent sources) illustrate this common feature, which will subsequently be analyzed under the category of reciprocity:

> *Tlingit*: feasts are given exclusively for the other moiety, and a man never employs a member of his own moiety for any services (Lowie 1948:241).
>
> *Choctaw*: moieties performed funeral obsequies for each other (Driver 1969:249; Lowie 1948:241).
>
> *Bororo*: after a person's death, members of the opposite half must kill a game animal, and the performers of a dance must be washed by their opposites (Lowie 1948:241).
>
> *Murngin*: at the end of one ceremony the members of the two groups exchange food; at another the men of one half-tribe are privileged and obligated to construct a sacred emblem, for which their opposites compensate them (Lowie 1948:242).
>
> *Turkana*: at feasts the meat is divided into two shares, one for each moiety, and members of one serve it to the members of the other; they sit apart to eat (Mair 1965:57).

Conscious Recognition of the Duality

The literature invariably either suggests or states that the members of any society organized into moieties are conscious of the existing division. It does not appear to be critical that the moieties be named or that people know the division affiliation of other members of the tribe (Tax 1955:269), but apparently it is essential that members of the society recognize the division and know to which group they belong. In this regard a previously cited quotation from Maybury-Lewis is instructive. He reports that young Sherente, for whom moiety exogamy is a thing of the past, nonetheless continue to use two-section kinship terminology, even though they cannot remember to which moiety they belong (Maybury-Lewis 1974:301).

The extent to which there must be complete agreement on every individual's membership in one or the other moiety is not exactly clear. Widespread uncertainty about individual positions could certainly lead to a breakdown of moiety boundaries, and widespread confusion probably signals a changing social structure. At the same time, confusion could conceivably arise in particular cases without jeopardizing the basic organization. Crocker suggests the utility of a somewhat flexible model for determining lineage and clan relationships among the Bororo, arguing that the system could not function successfully if the conscious model was "rigid and specific" (Crocker 1967:115). One can imagine cases in which a reinterpretation of an individual's moiety affiliation might ease social relationships. In fact, it is reported that in some groups individuals can even change moieties (cf. Downs 1973: 106).*

Naming

Moieties may have names or may have exclusive rights to a set of personal names (cf. Lowie 1948:243). As the following quotation suggests, however, names are not an essential characteristic:

> The moiety may be named and rigidified, as it so frequently is among the Australian bands, or it may be unnamed and revealed only in the egocentric status terminology, but the strictness of conduct required between people of in-law status, or "own" and "other" (as it is frequently conceptualized), are always of great significance in family life (Service 1962:69).

Nonetheless, moieties do often have names. Those names provide convenient and sometimes well-known labels like the Raven and Wolf moieties of the Tlingit, or Raven and Eagle moieties of the Haida (Rosman & Rubel 1971:35). Occasionally the names raise interesting conjecture between the world of symbols and the world of nature:

> Crow and Eaglehawk moieties are conceived totemically not because members of the Crow moiety are like crows in some ways and members of the Eaglehawk moiety are like eaglehawks, but because the relationship between the two moieties is like the relationship between the two bird species (Keesing 1975:60-61).

Names assigned to two moieties in a society are often associated with antithetical aspects of nature. That feature will be discussed separately.

A Principle of Recruitment

If a moiety system is to remain intact, underlying rules must assure not only that each individual in the society is assigned to one of its divisions, but also that each moiety is able to recruit sufficient members to assure its own perpetuation. Further, since exogamy is frequently associated with moiety organization, rules governing recruitment are essential for ascertaining the moiety of a child when each parent belongs, or belonged, to opposite moieties. For some anthropologists, such rules of descent are a central feature of moieties. Keesing, for example, writes:

> When a society is conceived as divided into two parts, determined by descent, these are called *moieties* (patri-moieties if one belongs to one's father's side, matri-moieties if one belongs to one's mother's side) (Keesing 1975:31).

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* Downs goes on to say, "... but at that point the idea [of moieties] becomes so vague as to be useless in social analysis." Nonetheless, such reported flexibility among traditional societies lends credence to employing the concept of moiety in contemporary settings where some individuals appear to make rather clear changes of affiliation during the course of their professional careers.

Similarly, Bock considers moieties only within the context of descent:

> When the descent groups within a society are grouped into only two main divisions . . . the two divisions of the society are known as moieties (halves) (Bock 1974:153).

Driver, in his study of North American Indians, summarizes:

> In general, it may be said that the distribution of moieties conforms fairly closely to the distribution of unilateral descent, whether the moieties are unilateral or not. This intimates some historical relationship between the two . . . (Driver 1969:250).

Driver provides enough examples of what he calls the "amazing variety" extant in moiety organization to illustrate that moieties are not rigidly based on unilateral descent. Those that are, however, provide such expected regularities as these:

> *Mixe*: membership in the moiety-barrios is inherited from the father. The moieties were agamous, but a woman joined that of her husband at marriage if her father had belonged to the opposite one from her husband (Driver 1969:250).
>
> *Tewa*: A bride ordinarily transfers to her husband's moiety after marriage. A child is usually initiated into his father's moiety (Ortiz 1965: 390).
>
> *Fox*: The father's eldest child is automatically a member of the opposite moiety, the next child a member of the father's moiety, the next a member of the opposite moiety, and so on (Tax 1955:268).

Mair, reporting on tribes in Eastern Africa, suggests that moieties can be based on principles other than descent. She introduces the principle of alternation. Among the Turkana of northern Kenya, she notes, every man belongs to the opposite moiety from that of his father, with both moieties represented in every generation (Mair 1965). Among the Eastern Eskimo, membership is determined by the season of birth; those born in winter belong to one moiety, and those born in summer belong to the other (Driver 1969:250). Driver also reports that membership in the moieties of the Haisla, which are nonunilineal, nonexogamous, and in fact "nothing more than boys' rivalry groups," is determined by place of residence in the village (Driver 1969:248). Among the Mackenzie Eskimo he reports that there are two "informal" moieties; everyone can join one of the groups, and children usually choose that of their father (Driver 1969:248).

Ortiz reports even further exceptions in recruitment among the Tewa. First, although a bride ordinarily transfers to her husband's moiety, she will not do so if she belongs to her own moiety's ceremonial society; her ritual duties in that society take precedence over all other considerations. And a Tewa child, although ordinarily initiated into his father's moiety, "may join the other moiety later in life if he wishes. This shift in membership is rarely made, but it is regarded as permissible" (Ortiz 1965:390).

None of these cases dispels the need for having some principle of recruitment. But it is clear that the presence of a moiety structure does not predict the basis on which membership is determined.

Spatial Arrangements

The allocation of physical space according to moiety membership—for example, in choosing the living site for a new family—is another frequently noted but apparently optional characteristic. In accounts where the allocation of space is mentioned, it is usually in relation to easily apparent physical features. However, in at least one case (the Cayapo, discussed below) the observable arrangement the anthropologist saw "on the ground" did not correspond to the way his informants conceptualized that division. It seems likely that there are other cases in which a perceived spatial arrangement differs from the division observed and reported by ethnographers. It is equally important to note that even where spatial arrangements seem quite clear-cut, they reflect divisions made for some but not all of a society's activities. Lowie provides an example of moiety division revealed in the camping arrangement at meetings of the Kansas clans:

> Of the sixteen Kansas clans, eight formed one exogamous moiety, the remainder the complementary moiety; and this dual division found spatial expression, the men of one half-tribe with their families camping on the left side, the men of the other half on the right side of the circle (Lowie 1948:239).

Permanent as well as temporary divisions between moieties are reported in the literature. Of the permanent type, reference is often made to the barrio division in Mexican towns:

> Many aboriginal Mexican towns were divided into two or more sections which were known in the source material by the Spanish term *barrio*. Wherever two such divisions exist, they may be called moieties. Among the Mixe, membership in the moiety-barrios was inherited from the father. The town was divided into two halves by an imaginary line through the plaza (Driver 1969:249).

Lowie provides an early reference to characteristic divisions among the Bororo:

> The Bororo apportion the north side of a village to one half-tribe, the south side to another; in one district there is an additional dichotomy, an axis perpendicular to the Vermelho River creating an Upstream and a Downstream Moiety (Lowie 1948:241).

In discussing the moiety system of the Creek Indians, Driver describes still another form of spatial arrangement in which all members of the same "town" belong to the same moiety:

> The town-moieties divided the towns into two groups ["peace" and "war"], there being thirty-one peace towns and eighteen war towns among the forty-nine for which moiety affiliation is known. There was only one town-moiety in each town, because the whole town belonged to it (Driver 1969:250).

Consistent with recent ethnographic interests in the way members of a society conceptualize the world about them, Turner's study of the Northern Cayapo suggests that the imaginary lines the anthropologist draws do not necessarily represent a spatial division as envisioned by members of the group:

> The Cayapo do not consider the ring of residential houses or even the plaza to be bisected into halves along a "moiety" axis. I asked many informants to draw plans of two-moiety villages. They always drew a circle with two dots in the eastern and western areas of the center of the circle. The dots were the moieties. No informant ever drew a diameter through the middle of the circle to designate the moieties.... It is not the division of the plaza itself into precise halves, but the conceptual relationship of opposite points on a common dimension of orientational polarity which consitutes the essence of the spatial "localization" of moieties for the Cayapo (Turner 1965:37).

Use of Contrasting Decoration or Ornamentation

Bodily decorations have sometimes been used to distinguish moiety affiliation. Specific colors may be associated with one or the other moiety, such as the reported use of contrasting red or black decorative paints among the Apinaye (Lowie 1948:241), or the contrasting combinations of red and white vs. yellow and black paints reported among the Tewa (Ortiz 1965:390). Similarly, distinctive and contrastive ornaments may be worn on ceremonial occasions or in everyday attire. Crocker notes how elderly Bororo informants recalled the utility of the latter practice:

> Old men proudly related how, in the old days when ornaments were worn every day, one could tell by a stranger's decorations his moiety, clan, and lineage affiliation and thus his relationship to himself (Crocker 1967: 128).

Association with Antithetical Aspects of Nature

It is by no means a critical attribute of moities that they are associated with antithetical aspects of nature. In some societies moieties are unnamed; in others they are associated with phenomena like "war" and "peace" (e.g., the Choctaw) or with animals (e.g., Raven and Wolf among the Tlingit). But moiety divisions are often named after or associated with opposites in nature. For example, Ortiz provides several contrasting moiety names still current among the Tewa (Ortiz 1965:390):

Winter People	Summer People
Ice Strong People	Summer Strong People
East Side People	West Side People
Ice People	Sun People

Maybury-Lewis reports three types of opposition common among the Apinaye, Eastern Timbira, and Sherente societies and hints at many more:

> In all three societies moieties were localized on opposite sides of the village, associated with opposite points of the compass, with Sun and

> Moon respectively, and so on through a series of analogical antitheses (Maybury-Lewis 1974:297).

Referring to the Canella, a preliterate Brazilian group, Lowie describes how they are

> . . . associated with complementary phenomena of nature—one moiety with the east, the sun, day, the dry season, fire, earth, and red; the other with the west, the moon, night, the wet season, firewood, water, and black (Lowie 1948:242).

Use of Sacred Emblems

Another characteristic of moieties is that they may have their own distinctive crests or totems. Possession of crests or totems is neither essential nor unique to moieties (lineages or clans may also have them), but they are frequently mentioned. One moiety may even have responsibility for constructing the sacred emblem of the other (cf. Lowie 1948:242).

A crest is a visible insignia by which individuals may identify their membership in a group. A crest may be considered part of a group's collective heritage and may be handed down from generation to generation. Unlike a totem, however, it is not associated with the origin of a people. A totem is a natural object that is associated with a group of people in a totemic relation—a belief in a relation between human descent groups and the object (cf. Keesing 1958:432).

Most totems are animals, although plants, inanimate objects, and natural forces may also be used (cf. Royal Anthropological Institute 1951: 192). An "east side" or "west side" people might display differing crests, but their names suggest no totemic relationship, no "origin." Of course, groups may be named after animals without implying any descent relationships, as with traditional Iroquois (or contemporary American) sports clubs (cf. Lévi-Strauss 1963:5). The subject of totemism, including its occurrence in clans and moieties, has warranted special attention and critical review among social anthropologists (cf. Lévi-Strauss 1963).

Competition in Ceremonies and Games

In accounts of behavior divided along moiety lines, mention is often made of competition in games. As a matter of fact, in some societies moieties apparently serve only to provide ready-made teams for an annual competition or series of games. Driver, in his survey of North American Indians, gives several examples where moiety divisions are reflected in the organization of games (Driver 1969: 249-250):

> *Pomo and Washo*: men's athletic games
> *Mono and Eastern Yokut*: games, feasts ceremonies
> *Pima and Papago*: ceremonies and athletic games
> *Eastern Pueblo*: racing and dancing at public ceremonies
> *Iroquois, Great Lakes tribes*: athletic games

In discussing what he calls the "weak" moieties of the Eastern Eskimo, Driver reports only one activity carried out according to moiety affiliation

—an annual tug-of-war at a public festival held in late autumn (Driver 1969:250). Similarly, he reports that two "informal" moieties among the Mackenzie Eskimo "had no function other than rivalry in jesting and hurling derogatory remarks at one another" (p. 248).

Four Types of Moiety Interaction

It is clear from the foregoing review that even in societies with moieties, the moiety organization may either be central to social organization or incidental to it, and the division may influence major spheres of daily behavior or be relegated to intermittent activities of widely varying social significance. Thus a typology of moieties according to their central activities might include the ceremonial, sportive, and political arenas of social interaction.

However, boundaries between areas of human activity like ceremony and politics are not necessarily easy to discern. So I will proceed by looking at how moieties interact, rather than worry about contrasts between "strong" moieties and "weak" moieties or try to compare moieties that pervade a society's social organization with others whose membership is discernible only during an annual tug-of-war. The four types of interaction pattern I intend to analyze were first suggested by Lowie and were introduced briefly in the preceding chapter. They are *complementarity, reciprocity, conceptual antithesis,* and *rivalry* (Lowie 1948:242).

Complementarity

Complementarity refers to the functions performed by one or the other moiety for the group as a whole. Complementarity exemplifies a division of labor extending beyond a household or lineage to a whole society. Each "half-tribe" performs certain exclusive tasks for the entire society. Mair provides a dramatic illustration of this in the cattle raids of the Turkana, in which "each moiety formed one column, and they approached their objective from two sides" (Mair 1965:57). However, this example creates an image of approximately equal columns of young men; it is important to recall that the moiety division is predicated neither on an equal distribution of members nor on an equitable distribution of tasks, resources, or power. At the same time, in the best interest of each moiety *both* must maintain their vitality. As with the Tewa, "each moiety sponsors certain ceremonies for the general good of the entire village" (Ortiz 1965: 392). Crocker's study of the Bororo emphasizes this point:

> The perpetuation of Bororo traditional society depends on a stable village. Neither clans nor lineages nor families nor individuals are able to function in its absence. Moreover, if my analysis is correct, several functioning villages enhance the stability of one another, since such a condition permits lineage fission and fusion and the exercise of various structural and individual alternatives.
>
> When I suggested, citing the problems of under-population, that all Bororo join in a single village, my informants were aghast. There must

> be at least two villages, they said, no matter how few people were in each. The villages, lineages, and clans, as well as individual Bororo, exist only in relation to one another, and it is the system of coordinated villages which organizes and regulates these divisions. When Bororo villages disappear, so does Bororo society (Crocker 1967:175).

Complementarity between moieties is an easy concept to understand and to illustrate. However, similar principles may also be found in societies without moieties, and similar conditions may accompany the distribution of tasks. Thus lineages, clans, castes, etc., may all have certain tasks that they alone carry out for the society as a whole, creating complex systems of mutual obligations between the subunits. The distribution of such obligations need not (and probably cannot) be perfectly symmetrical. Fallers summarizes the general case although his discussion pertains specifically to caste:

> Within a local community, members of different castes tended to be bound to one another by obligations to supply mutual though often rather asymmetrical services, assigned in terms of a division of labor by caste (Fallers 1973:108).

Reciprocity

Reciprocity refers to functions performed by either moiety for the other rather than for the entire society. A brief excerpt from Lowie is rather typical of statements describing moiety reciprocity:

> Among the Tlingit (Alaska) a man never gives property to one of his own half-tribe or employs him for any services. A Raven always gets a Wolf to put up a house for him, to pierce his children's ears, to initiate the youngster into secret societies, and vice versa (Lowie 1948:241).

It is necessary to emphasize the importance of reciprocity in all social relationships rather than to claim it as a unique property of a moiety structure. Although the moiety form of organization provides "one of the most effective ways of institutionalizing reciprocity" (Hoebel 1972:449), the principle of reciprocity is operative in all societies. As Hoebel notes, however, "some societies are content to have it remain implicit in their cultures without placing much formal emphasis upon it." In the following passage, Hoebel elaborates further on the critical role of reciprocity:

> Reciprocity is the basis of all social relationships, for there can be no social relations without interaction. Human beings are so constituted that dependence without interdependence is not readily or for long accepted by the giver of services. He who gives would also receive. Through the building of a network of giving and receiving of services, a society expands its potentialities (Hoebel 1972:449).

Calling attention to the predominant pattern of moiety exogamy, Hoebel notes the significance of having each moiety depend upon the other to supply marriage partners—the epitome of human exchange. Noting that other reciprocal services are also "invariably linked" to such moiety alignments, Hoebel concludes that moieties thus "serve to give concrete form to the reciprocity principle" (Hoebel 1972:449).

Crocker's account from the Bororo stresses the importance of asymmetry in reciprocity and the critical role of imbalance in perpetuating a stable relationship:

> The synchronic asymmetry of *utawara* exchanges [the whole social scheme of clan and moiety interrelations] endow Bororo ceremonial activity with great vitality and insure the preservation of the system. One wants to ensure that eventually one's group will be paid in full and in kind. Moreover, each *utawara* . . . is a particularization of the relationship between the moieties, specific statements of a general reciprocity. This reciprocity is itself based on the condition that imbalance and indebtedness always exist in the exchanges between the moieties (Crocker 1967:151).

Just as reciprocity provides the source of vitality in moiety interaction, so also it allows for tension and stress that can lead beyond temporary imbalance to the formation of new social units or alignments and the weakening of former ones. Lowie provides several illustrations in support of the assertion that moieties are "constantly evolving, disappearing and reappearing" (Lowie 1948:246), and he pays particular attention to how such a social organization arises "naturally, and in some cases, inevitably" from changing demographic conditions (p. 247).

In a classic essay recently republished, Robert Hertz examines changes in dualism in primitive social organization from the perspective of the "sacred" and "profane" (Hertz 1973). In his discussion, Hertz raises an interesting issue about shifting from a "reversible dualism" to a rigid hierarchical structure with the doers of the sacred tasks on the top and the doers of the profane tasks on the bottom:

> Dualism, which is essential to the thought of primitives, dominates their social organization. The two moieties or phratries which constitute the tribe are reciprocally opposed as sacred and profane.
>
> Everything that exists within my own phratry is sacred and forbidden to me; this is why I cannot eat my totem, or spill the blood of a member of my phratry, or even touch his corpse, or marry in my clan. . . . Given the religious character with which a primitive community feels itself invested, the existence of an opposed and complimentary segment of the same tribe, which can freely carry out functions which are forbidden to members of the former group, is a necessary condition of social life.
>
> The evolution of society replaces this reversible dualism with a rigid hierarchical structure: instead of separate and equivalent clans there appear classes or castes, of which one, at the summit, is essentially sacred, noble, and devoted to superior works, while another, at the bottom, is profane or unclean and engaged in base tasks (Hertz 1973:8).

The underlying point is that the relationship between moieties is stable but not static, of necessity in a state of flux but not usually in such flux as to require self-conscious attention to the organizational structure. Yet the basic duality cannot be ignored—which brings us to the two remaining types of moiety interaction.

Conceptual Antithesis and Rivalry

Although Lowie distinguishes between rivalry and conceptual antithesis, I find it useful to discuss them together, taking rivalry to be the outward and visible manifestation of an underlying conceptual antithesis. Ortiz introduces the concept of "symbolic antithesis" in his analysis of the Tewa (Ortiz 1965:390), but he does so in order to develop a distinction between the "social dualism" of the Winter and Summer moieties and the "symbolic dualism" expressed by human and spiritual categories in Tewa world view (Ortiz 1969:8-9). For this discussion I will hold to Lowie's "conceptual antithesis," but it is important to acknowledge that a moiety form of organization does not preclude the possibility that members of the society may perceive other dualities as well. To employ Ortiz's "symbolic antithesis" here, however, could lead us to search for a pervasive symbolism in events that might not warrant it. Granted that an annual tug-of-war may be regarded as an act of rivalry, whether it also has symbolic meaning must remain a matter of conjecture unless we have the informants' perceptions of the meaning of the event.

Hoebel argues that the activities subsumed under such headings as rivalry or conceptual antithesis actually illustrate the underlying principle of reciprocity (Hoebel 1972:449). Although his interpretation may sometimes strain the definition,* I share his enthusiasm for assigning a dominant role to reciprocity as a concept for analyzing human social behavior. Nonetheless, for purposes of this discussion it seems useful to consider rivalry and conceptual antithesis separately from reciprocity, since they provide a useful way to illustrate so many of the reported differences between moieties. Of the 11 characteristics of moieties discussed earlier, 8 seem clearly to belong under the heading of rivalry and conceptual antithesis. These characteristics include conscious recognition of the duality, naming, recruitment, spatial arrangements, use of contrasting decoration or ornamentation, association with antithetical aspects of nature, use of sacred emblems, and competition in ceremonies and games.

Rivalry refers to activities or arenas of behavior where differences are maximized and made public. Lowie, in the essay often referred to in this chapter, illustrates rivalry with a reference to the Tlingit: "There is great rivalry between the two parties, 'and their endeavors to outdo each other sometimes almost resulted in bloodshed' " (Lowie 1948:241).† The Mackenzie Eskimo confine their rivalry to "jesting and hurling derogatory remarks" (Driver 1969:243), although the significance of insults in traditional Eskimo society should not be underestimated. Rivalry can also take more subtle forms, even if only in joking references to the superiority of one's totem, such as, "My totem is the wolf, yours is the pig . . . . Take care! Wolves eat pigs!" (Lévi-Strauss 1963:22).

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* For example, providing an opposing team for a sports contest hardly appears to illustrate the essence of interdependence.

† Although rivalry is quite worthy of attention as a functional attribute of moieties and the Tlingit do have a moiety structure, Lowie's example appears to be in error. Referring back to the original source of Lowie's data (Swanton 1908:435), Rosman and Rubel note that although the guests in a Tlingit potlatch are of the moiety opposite that of the host, they are in fact further divided into two opposing groups within the same moiety (Rosman and Rubel 1971:185). This subsequent clarification demonstrates that opposition is not sufficient proof of the presence of moieties. More important, Rosman and Rubel's reassessment of the social organization literature

Conceptual antithesis draws attention to less dramatic but equally important ways that members of a society indicate awareness of their alignment with a particular moiety. This is the kind of "we-they" antithesis revealed in an earlier quote from the Bororo: "The Tugarege have many more things than we do, but ours are more beautiful, so it is equal" (Crocker 1967:130).

Although the terms "rivalry" or "antithesis" may evoke association with hostility or enmity, they also refer to types of moiety interaction that contribute to the overall unity of a society. One can easily suggest a psychological explanation for rivalry and antithesis by linking a socially acceptable channeling of aggression to the former (cf. Murdock 1949:90) and a sense of group identity to the latter. Lucy Mair concludes an illustration of moiety rivalry among the Arusha with a functional explanation of moiety interaction:

> Yet their rivalry is friendly; it does not break up the society in conflict, but helps to keep it going. It is a good example of what Radcliffe-Brown called integration through opposition; indeed in some of its aspects it recalls the friendly rivalry of Oxford and Cambridge, which he himself cited as an example (Mair 1965:58).

In spite of its appeal, a phrase like Radcliffe-Brown's "integration through opposition" draws attention to static rather than dynamic qualities of a moiety system. The more fundamental problem, as Ortiz points out, is to understand "just how a society can be divided and united at the same time, and how it continues through time, given the fact of dual organization" (Ortiz 1969:8). On close examination, this integration appears both wondrous and precarious. Turner provides a case in point in summarizing his study of the Cayapo:

> The [moiety] structure of Cayapo society has been analyzed . . . as an ideal system in a state of equilibrium and full functional integration. In reality, the Cayapo social system is neither fully stable nor fully integrated in a structural sense (Turner 1965:526).

Relevant as it is to the discussion at hand, students of social organization will recognize that the absence of total stability or total integration is by no means limited to societies organized into moieties.

Part III is organized around the four types of moiety interaction just

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of the Northwest Coast leads them to argue that even where moieties are present, opposition actually occurs between smaller "operative units" such as between clans or lineages of opposite moieties, rather than between moieties in their entirety (cf. Rosman and Rubel 1971:44).

examined, with two slight modifications. One is a mere shift in sequence; I begin by examining how conceptual antithesis and rivalry are displayed in educator moieties, an approach that allows me to point out some of the more obvious moiety-like characteristics of educator subculture. The other modification is related to Hoebel's view that conceptual antithesis and rivalry should properly be regarded as dimensions of reciprocity (Hoebel 1972:449). I have combined antithesis and rivalry for discussion in a single chapter, but initially I do not subsume them under the discussion of reciprocity. Separate attention seems warranted by the analytical insights made possible by first examining them alone. Thus I have followed Lowie's framework and analyzed educator moieties in terms of four basic functions. Hoebel's position that all behavior between members of moieties can be subsumed under two major headings, reciprocity and complementarity, provides a basis for summarizing the discussion and emphasizing its most critical aspects.

PART III

Educator Moieties: An Analysis of the Case and Examination of Educator Subculture

Chapter 7

Educator Moieties: An Overview

> **Every once in a while I get the feeling some of them up there have forgotten that the kids are still around and that is why all of us—those guys up there and all of us down here—are bothering to worry about the whole business at all.**
>
> —From an SLEA Bulletin, Year Four

THE CHAPTERS THAT FOLLOW examine the case study in terms of rather pointed questions stemming directly from the moiety literature. In this chapter, I anticipate that analysis by looking at some of the more dramatic contrasts between moieties, contrasts that become apparent when we examine moieties in action. Because my interest is in identifying major differences in the world view of teachers and technocrats, I will be looking not so much at overt behavior as at the meanings people give to their own behavior and the behavior of others. Attention will be directed both to analyzing social structure as evidenced in the moiety system and to identifying behaviors exhibited in common by individuals in that system. "When he maps a people's culture," writes Roger Keesing, "an anthropologist moves in his thinking from real human individuals to an abstract picture of the ideas they are supposed to share" (Keesing and Keesing 1971:26). My purpose here is to create an abstract picture of what Keesing calls an ideational system, "the ideas, meanings, and knowledge, conscious and unconscious [that] people share" (Keesing 1975:9).

To begin the search for contrasts in ideational systems, I will present and discuss protocols from several SPECS-related meetings that took place in the spring of 1973 (Year Three). The first two excerpts are from formal meetings; the third is from a formal interview. My role in each setting was that of observer; after the formal interview I was congratulated for being a good listener. In all cases I have provided abridged excerpts from more detailed notes.

A Glimpse Into the Ideational System of Teachers

The excerpt below is from the early moments of a meeting held in the Cottage Grove High School library. The meeting was one of several held by the SPECS Committee to ascertain teacher attitudes toward SPECS as the end of the three-year pilot program approached. Teachers present included members of the committee and any teachers from the high school staff who wanted to voice their opinions. The meeting was held after school. The excerpt that follows reveals some critical facets of the basic ideational system of teachers as revealed during a discussion of positive and negative aspects of SPECS. I have made no attempt to differentiate among the various speakers.

Teacher Talk: Teachers Discuss SPECS

> SPECS doesn't work for my subject. I think it was started from the wrong end. It served administrators' needs, but not teacher needs. And it still doesn't meet student needs. It required a new language and a new sequence. I wish instead they had asked teachers, "What have you already done that's working?" It seems strange that in two years they haven't asked us anything. We are just told to do it or get out. But a teacher's program can't be all set up in advance. It's got to be flexible. I never know for sure what I'm going to do with a class until I get them.
>
> * * *
>
> Something like SPECS will probably be with us in some form from now on, though. So whatever all of you have to say, let's hear it.
>
> * * *
>
> I'll go first because my wife will soon be picking me up. The PED form needs to be streamlined, and the final form in the orange book needs streamlining, too. But as far as having some kind of PPBS system, I'm in favor of it. Yet it certainly can have some misuses. The board, or any nonprofessional people, could start dropping programs on the basis of cost. They could look at a foreign language program at the high school, for example, and maybe just decide to drop it because they need dollars for supplies. The system has some built-in dangers.
>
> * * *
>
> I can't see where SPECS will solve a problem for anyone, except SPECS people selling the program. If a certain level of accomplishment must be reached, teachers will simply teach to the test.
>
> * * *
>
> But remember that the teacher writes both the course and the tests.
>
> * * *
>
> Not at our school. We're writing PEDs for next year's teachers.
>
> * * *
>
> And third grade math is being standardized in the district.
>
> * * *
>
> I think SPECS helps teachers to plan. Right now the state superintendent of schools is trying to push through some kind of accountability program. In our district it's going to be SPECS; somewhere else it will be a different program.
>
> * * *

CASEA completely abandoned us in giving help, especially in the affective domain.

* * *

My understanding of SPECS is that not everything you do in class has to go into a PED.

* * *

I'm now more aware of seeing if I achieved the objectives I set in the beginning of the term. But it's terribly time-consuming. I spin a lot of wheels. And in my field, changes occur so fast that I can't write something to last.

* * *

In my subject there are so many ways to do things, and you can't cover them all. I just don't like paperwork. I've been trained to write programs and instructional packages. But there is an inflexibility in this approach. I can't use good materials from other programs. Everything has to be changed to fit this format.

* * *

Regardless of what I turn in, from the department head on up they want to change it. Just the other day they wanted me to combine two objectives that couldn't be farther apart. They shouldn't be making those judgments. It's like having vocational education people tell you how to teach art or music.

* * *

I've been told two or three different ways to do these PEDs. And people are told they have to do this or risk their jobs.

* * *

There's nothing new about SPECS. It's just the format. There should be greater flexibility. Some other programs are good and we should be able to use them.

* * *

Have you been asked for new cost information? One of the arguments was supposed to be that if you can show you could provide a better program with more money, you'd get it.

* * *

I don't see how SPECS would ever get the community to spend any more money. It won't make people willing to pay more taxes.

* * *

This always gets back to the budget. They keep telling us it's about program, but basically it always gets back to money.

* * *

They've tried to get us to fit their administrative format.

* * *

The whole thing was supposed to start from the grass roots and work up. Instead, it's come from the administration.

* * *

Were you ever asked to do anything to help [i.e., improve] SPECS?

* * *

There was that questionnaire we filled in each year.

* * *

But that is still sitting in a room somewhere.

* * *

To me, SPECS was a completely foreign language that had nothing to do with teaching.

* * *

I'm disappointed in the teacher turnout for this meeting. If this is a real problem, the way people say it is in the coffee room, where are they? I have other things I should be doing, but this is important.

* * *

Me too. Over the past three years, as a PPL, I've heard nothing but complaints. Now here's a chance to complain, and no one comes to discuss it.

* * *

And people are afraid of their jobs.

* * *

The teacher questionnaire we are preparing may help, because people won't have to put their names on it.

* * *

Some people won't even fill out a questionnaire

* * *

But people *are* concerned.

* * *

We questioned what the superintendent was telling us about how people felt. Now we're trying to find out what people *really* think.

* * *

At some places the teachers have really turned out. In one small school seven teachers turned out and all seven were negative.

* * *

But there was a pathetic showing of teachers at another school. I think it's a fear that the 'great white father' over there will see you going into that meeting and put a comment in your folder [personnel file] that you're a rabble rouser. They used to be closer over there. Now they have meetings at 7:30 a.m. about SPECS—but no more than five a month, if you're lucky! And there are deadlines for everything, and everything is designed to make him look good. Only the deadlines are put down in writing—the consequences of missing them are never written down.

* * *

I think I've seen pressures from the authorities to "make SPECS go or else!" I've continued to speak out, and in my department I feel support. But will people stick together?

* * *

One lucky thing about me, I can go to work [i.e., take a high-pay non-teaching job].

* * *

People have no conception of what we're trying to do as teachers. Why don't they leave us alone?

* * *

> That's one of the ironies of teaching: most of a teacher's problems aren't about kids.

* * *

> That's a curious thing, isn't it? This is the first time the subject of kids has come up in this discussion.

* * *

> I spent two hours yesterday bailing a kid out of jail. How am I supposed to write a PED about that?

* * *

> I like that part on the form that asks, "What could have been done differently? What would help me do a better job?" But no one is listening. I wish somebody was paying attention. They might sit down and talk about our ideas.

* * *

> That's what the principals should have been doing all along. But the administration doesn't leave them alone long enough to do it. It's ridiculous to be running a million-dollar plant and not even know what kind of product is being turned out.

* * *

Recurring Themes in Teacher Talk

It seems to me that several themes are identifiable in the above dialogue that were also evident in Part I. These themes are consistent with observations of "teacher culture" elsewhere, both in my own experience and in writings of others. Following the course of the dialogue itself, the abstract picture of the teachers' ideational system seems to include these important elements.

Teacher autonomy. Teachers want to retain the authority for instructional decisions, to be able to judge for themselves what is best in terms of students and instructional programs. They protect their autonomy by pointing to the need for flexibility and by insisting that they either be allowed to choose between options or else be left completely alone. The teacher must be free to decide what works and what does not. As one teacher expressed it, "they [i.e., administrators] shouldn't be making those judgments."

Teaching is sacrosanct. The charter of teachers is the duty of teaching, and nothing must be allowed to interfere with their efforts in that regard. Teachers should challenge every demand imposed upon them to assure that it helps them fulfill the charter, consistent with their interpretation of teacher needs and student needs.

Teachers understand teaching. The present tense is important here—unless one is presently teaching, he or she is an outsider who does not really understand teaching. Either one is teaching or one is no longer a teacher; persons in the latter category who wish to maintain their identification with teaching must constantly prove their sympathy and understanding. Although exceptions are noted and often esteemed—through the use of such accolades as, "Here's a person who has never forgotten what it's like to be in the classroom"—this important element in the ideational system tends to keep teachers ever on guard against both the "lay public" and administrators. A teacher at the meeting cited above summed up this feeling with the comment, "People have no conception of what we're trying to do as teachers."

Teaching has a solid tradition. Within their ranks teachers are ambivalent about change. No teacher wants to be accused of teaching in exactly the same manner year after year, yet teachers sometimes appear to resist the imposition of even minor changes. The whole history of SPECS reveals how strongly teachers did resist. Teachers themselves recognized that their resistance was due as much or more to the manner in which the innovation was presented as to the form of the innovation itself. Technocrats often noted that the extent of collective teacher griping masked the fact that teachers individually had found some features of SPECS useful. Regard for SPECS was partly a matter of emphasis. The fact that innovators tend to stress what is new and unique provides the perfect rationale for teachers to argue the merits of continuity and past experience. This attitude is illustrated by the comment of a South Lane teacher who felt that the SPECS developers "acted like a couple of hotshots who had just invented planning."

Teachers are vulnerable. Teachers are nagged by feelings of vulnerability; they are fond of referring to their plight as defenseless, powerless, and unappreciated individuals. "I wish somebody was paying attention," complained one teacher in rather typical fashion. The case history of SPECS in South Lane suggests several dimensions of teachers' vulnerability, although I suspect that the following is only a partial list:

1) Teaching itself can always be improved.
2) No one occupies the role of teacher full time; other activities compete for teacher time and energy, and individual teachers differ widely in their commitment to teaching. In the above dialogue, this problem is illustrated by the teacher who asks to speak early because his wife is coming to give him a ride home. It is even better illustrated by the fact that only a handful of teachers actually attended the session, in spite of three years of widespread complaining among the faculty.
3) Individual teacher autonomy makes it difficult to coalesce teachers into a united front. The cost of this independence is that teachers individually tend to feel vulnerable to administrators. The dialogue suggests how teachers feel threatened by program requirements, by their individual record, by the abuse of administrative authority, and by school budget elections.
4) Teaching does not always live up to its promise of being intrinsically rewarding. The rewards of teaching can be few and far between, compared to some of the day-to-day difficulties.

Ideational Differences Among Teachers

Sacrosanct and yet vulnerable, tradition-bound but characterized by individual autonomy, universally known yet understood by only its practitioners—can all of these diverse elements be part of one ideational system? In the case of teachers, the answer seems to be "yes." Sociologist Dan Lortie has observed:

> Teaching seems to have more than its share of status anomalies. It is honored and disdained, praised as "dedicated service" and lampooned as "easy work." It is permeated with the rhetoric of professionalism, yet features incomes below those earned by workers with considerably less education (Lortie 1975:10).

Although I have not made much of the differences within teacher ranks—differences that distinguish among teachers and often prove divisive at moments requiring collective action—such differences are perceived and are of considerable significance to teachers and to people who work with teachers. Two observations volunteered by central office personnel in South Lane provide interesting perspectives on the differences between the high school faculty and other teachers in the district. A technocratically oriented individual stated:

> The most uncomfortable school to work in is the high school.* There's more resistance there. South Lane Education Association's dominance comes from there. The principal is very open. There are always more questions raised there, and you have to keep justifying programs.

A teacher-oriented member of the central office staff said:

> Teachers at the secondary level are always a more independent lot. It was my surprise in coming to the central office to find that all teachers are not like that. They look at things more critically. You can't impose a program, and they won't rally to a new program. They are also more independent of each other: "What I do in my classroom is my business."

In addition to differences between teachers at different instructional levels, there is another within-moiety distinction that teachers implicitly recognize—the sense of career. Following a label that teachers themselves use somewhat loosely, Lortie calls this phenomenon "commitment." He observes, "My impression is that one demonstrates commitment to teaching by staying with it for some years, a criterion no beginner can meet" (Lortie 1975:160). I hesitate to adopt the term commitment because it implies that allegiance is a necessary concommitant of longevity. I suspect rather that many individuals find they are trapped into lifetime careers in teaching at about the point when their allegiance to teaching reaches an all-time low.

I quite agree, however, that teachers perceive beginners as clearly separated from oldtimers. The SPECS turmoil in South Lane was essentially a battle between a small group of teacher-oriented oldtimers and an even smaller group of technocrats. Those oldtimers constituted the central core of the teacher moiety in the district. Beginners came and went, usually unscathed by the battle and, after Year Four, sometimes almost unaware of it. Thus when I refer to the teacher moiety, whether in Cottage Grove or more broadly, I am referring essentially to a nucleus of teachers who carry forward the tradition of teachers. This nucleus is comprised of people who regard teaching as their career. The significance of this core group united by a shared ideational system can be too easily overlooked in a cursory perusal of statistics describing rates of "teacher turnover" or average years spent in teaching.

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* My own experience as a fieldworker was quite the opposite. This study owes a particular debt to the cooperation and trust of the teachers and the principal at the high school.

Filling in the complete "map" of the ideational system of teachers is beyond the scope of a single case study, although I think that the SPECS case helps dramatize many of the important features of that map. Since the concept of a dual division does invite comparison, I would like next to turn to a similar examination of the ideational system of the technocrats and then attempt to identify some mutual concerns and potential conflicts between the two ideational systems.

A Glimpse Into the Ideational System of Technocrats

In exploring the ideational system of technocrats I will draw upon two excerpts—one from a meeting of the SPECS research staff, and one from an interview with a pro-SPECS principal. Unlike the teacher dialogue, each of these excerpts is taken from the comments of one individual. No doubt the monologue format lends support to the observation that technocrats maintain a sharper focus and a clearer sense of immediate purpose than teachers. However, I think that those characteristics would have been almost as apparent in excerpts from a group discussion. I would have liked to present excerpts of dialogue from an early meeting between the SPECS developers and school district personnel; unfortunately those meetings took place long before I began my fieldwork. In the few meetings of the district's technocrats that I attended, SPECS was discussed only briefly if at all.

Since I draw my examples from two divergent elements in the technocrat moiety, perhaps I should first elaborate on the internal structure of that moiety. Certainly its most visible members are those in administrative positions in schools. Technocratically oriented professors of education comprise another subgroup; as with school administrators, however, any particular professor may be a member of either the teacher or the technocrat moiety. Technocratically oriented educators in state or national offices of education and individuals working in educational research and development comprise two additional subgroups of technocrats—subgroups whose number and influence have increased markedly in recent years. My first excerpt comes from a meeting of educational researchers.

The meeting from which the following excerpt is taken occurred within two days of the teacher meeting quoted earlier. Like the teacher meeting, it was called specifically to discuss issues related to SPECS. Neither group was aware or concerned about the existence of the other, and the researchers were unaware of the gathering storm among South Lane's teachers. However, it is unlikely that such information would have affected the course of this particular meeting, which was called to interview a job candidate for the SPECS research component. Only the introductory remarks of one project member who presented an overview of the research component's task are presented below.

The speaker was one of the members of the research component who had helped draft the original funding proposal. The time was four months after the SPECS party, near the end of Year Three. In editing the following excerpts, I have deleted three brief interjections.

Technocrat Talk: A Researcher Discusses SPECS

> I would like first to try to define the job in some detail, hopefully with some precision in terms of skills and tasks that need to be brought to it.
>
> One way to get some fix on the problem is simply to know that some change is going to take place in the schools. The change is, in general, an information system. The plan is to do something that ordinarily is not done in education. The ordinary procedure in education is to implement some sort of change and then never worry about its consequences beyond collecting statements volunteered by Miss Jones that say "Everybody is in love with it." The consequences of what is introduced to schools are simply not studied systematically. Typically schools don't know the impact of anything on anything. We've taken that on as something important to do—to understand what happens after some alteration is made within a school system. Now there is generally no claim that this system [SPECS] will solve all the world's problems, or make them any worse. I think the claims are rather modest. They touch upon learning, the central business of schools. Anyway, here's an opportunity to ascertain the kinds of changes, impact, consequences of some rather fundamental change in schools. That's the task.
>
> We entered into a contract to deliver "noise" about three types of conseqences. One kind of conseqence relates to students' learning at school. Another type of consequence we're thinking of are the social-psychological variables that get caught up in the life of an organization. Still another type of consequence is what we call organizational consequences; here we're thinking of those kinds of consequences that are not perceptual and not subjective, but directly involve the attributes of a formal organization—its structure, its function, its mechanisms—aside from what people may think and believe about those attributes.
>
> So the problem becomes one of finding out those types of organizational consequences. The initial problem is to create a design for research around the system and around consequences that one might predict, once it had been placed in operation. The task is to think about the PPB system and to worry through what potential impact it might have on "formal organization," to use a shorthand term.
>
> Part of the problem is that SPECS points to things with an elbow as opposed to a finger. This I see as an advantage and a disadvantage. It's a disadvantage in that it makes the job less straightforward and less easy. If SPECS pointed with a finger to certain kinds of consequences, it would be like rolling off a log, but it doesn't do that. That makes life more complicated. On the other hand, it's an advantage because pointing in a

> general direction permits one to pursue interests of one's own that are more or less implicated in the treatment.
>
> There are a variety of ways to approach the problem of what could be predicted to be implicated by SPECS. One extreme is simply to collect together a standard, random sort-out of organizational variables. That has some advantage in the sense that everything that people might think important is covered in such an arrangement. The other extreme is to set the problem on a more narrow basis, more tightly related to the characteristics of the treatment, so that the logic for looking at A, B, and C that are tightly related to SPECS is easy to spell out. It takes a narrower view, and the logic of connecting SPECS to an assortment is more tenuous. One of the problems is to look at SPECS and try to determine what those fingers are, if any, and, if unable to do that, to get the grab bag of variables.
>
> In most cases our instrumentation of these variables—developing measures—is aided somewhat by the literature, but not fully. There is a high prospect that instruments to measure what was implicated have to be developed, given some kind of test, and words generated about the "goodness" of those instruments. That demands different talent than does conceptualization.
>
> Another problem is to worry about conditions under which we collect data. When to take our measures is a problem. The management of entry and exit to secure the data and the businesses of how that is stored, interim kinds of analysis of it—those are items that need to be of concern. And, of course, we have the problem of a final kind of analysis of before-and-after and interim data. The great problem is with doing the analysis-of-change data. So that's the design issue: what are the variables, how do they get measured, how does the data get taken on them, how does the data get analyzed, and what's the logical set that one takes on the problem?
>
> The design business is complicated further because the schools to be involved are as yet unidentified. The business of sampling is, of necessity, related to some kind of population. But that population is unknown. I guess we kind of go through that twice: once in general, and once in specific terms after schools become identified. Another complicating feature is a general feature. Care must be exercised so that the consequence variables really aren't treatment variables. We can obtain separation between those. Given the many ramifications of SPECS, it's easy to slip those two very close together—the treatment and the consequence variables. That part needs to be sorted out.
>
> That's the initial task. The task beyond that is, of course, to carry out the research, to design a first go-around of test materials. The data-taking could be seen as fairly routine. The interim analysis is less than routine.

If we assume that these comments, although made by one individual at one particular time, are somewhat characteristic of the way that other members of this special researcher subset talk, it is possible to begin identifying elements of the abstract picture that describe the ideational system of technocrats in general. *Order and rational process* seem to be overarching themes that emerge. Other identifiable elements appear to relate to these central themes. For example, the need for order calls for a division of labor and a hierarchy of tasks and personnel. There is a clear sense of purpose that fosters precision and underwrites a seeming confidence that both the right problem and the right solution have been identified. As one observer has noted, "The 'can do' syndrome that characterizes research and development in technological fields infiltrated research on education" (Howe 1976:6). There is also an implied notion of progress—not only that conditions need to be improved and will be improved by the researcher's efforts but that the efforts themselves are an improvement over earlier ones. Progress provides the sense of purpose; rationality provides the method of attaining it.

The specific kinds of activities and tasks addressed in the above excerpt are significant, since much of the dialogue and effort of this subset of technocrats centers around similar activities and concepts. Such terms as research design, identification and instrumentation of variables, conceptualizing, data gathering, data storage, and data analysis are part of the common language of researchers.* Use of a technical language is important among researchers—it helps them convey their special interests to other members of their subgroup and provides them with a coveted and special identity.

The same technical language is not common among all technocrats. School administrators and state department officials do not talk the same way that researchers and some professors do. The following excerpts from an interview with a different type of technocrat—a school principal—serve to emphasize how the language of different members of this moiety in part reflects a specialized focus and in part exhibits concerns held in common by all technocrats. This interview was held in order to give a pro-SPECS principal from South Lane an opportunity to elaborate on why he endorsed SPECS with such enthusiasm. The interview was made about four weeks after the meetings described above; the excerpts presented here were drawn from 11 pages of handwritten notes. I have deleted comments made by myself and by another member of the school faculty.

Technocrat Talk: A Principal Discusses SPECS

> I've always been frustrated at curriculum organization and the lack of unity as we went down the road together. In my first administrative position I saw how diversified and fragmentary things were from one class to the next.
>
> When I became principal here I made teachers talk to each other. Nobody seemed to know or to care where the kids were. There was no evaluation system anywhere. The superintendent said, "That's the damndest mess you ever saw. Every person is going his own way." In one grade in math there were three different approaches for three different classes. One guy was dittoing from a book that wasn't even on our adoption list,

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* The reader may recall a rather similar list of terms drawn from a meeting described in chapter 4. That meeting was also attended by members of the research component. The striking thing is that the meetings were attended by a different set of people and were held 18 months apart, yet the same problems were described in about the same way.

one guy was using an old adoption, and the third was using the new one. SPECS makes teachers plan together, set performance objectives, test where pupils are, and evaluate at the beginning, where it should be, as well as at the end. I never did know what an "A" meant. Now teachers think about the degree of mastery. SPECS has greatly aided teacher communication. Teachers can communicate with each other about performance objectives. I think there is better communication between teachers and pupils, because they have performance objectives written down. Therefore pupil morale is better, and thus the administration has fewer problems. Teachers have been able to evaluate themselves better and because they can, they communicate with their administrator better. I have a document I can study. I can look at the document, then go to the classroom with an idea of what to expect. I can analyze that teacher from a much more specific point of view. I don't have to go by how they dress, or their poise. This is a tool for evaluating teacher performance and that's what we pay them for. I know I'm doing a better job of evaluating teachers.

Now we're headed toward an articulated curriculum—scope and sequence of a student's learning processes in a particular field. He is not being lost in the processes, and he's going through at his rate rather than the teacher's rate. We're eliminating the gaps and the overlaps.

Let me turn to budgeting. We had overspending, underspending. With SPECS our first budget was ridiculous, and I was ashamed of it. This year I thought teachers prepared a dandy budget—every teacher submitted a budget for his area. Then we compiled the overall school budget. Teachers are now involved in budgetary planning. They don't say "This is how much money I need." Instead, they say, "This is the program and this is what we need for it." To cut a budget is to cut a program. Our supply room now feeds out. It's not a warehouse anymore. Now we have space in there; we've gotten rid of things we don't need. When a request comes in, I can look at the document. Now when I refuse it, I can show why. It used to be solely on my judgment.

We also have managing by objectives. Custodians, cafeteria workers, all our classified people submit planning documents and identify objectives that fit into the program.

So far we have concentrated on subject matter, but now we're doing SPECS in other areas. On the district level, with curriculum, in personnel, in schoolhouse planning, we are working with documented data. I couldn't be more thrilled with it. In my humble estimation, it's been here all the time but we never put it all together. I think now that teachers know what each other is doing. It's a huge step toward inserting professionalism into education. There have been some excellent teachers, but no one knew how good they were, and their work couldn't be picked up because they weren't documented.

A lot of teacher planning has been improved immensely. Even some teachers I thought were weak have become giants in the classroom. Each program now is operating at a high efficiency level, and teachers are taking pride in what they are doing.

A lot of concommitant things are side effects. The environment at teacher-parent conferences has improved. There's a real pride, because we're talking accomplishments.

There has been resistance. For example, regarding time. In the beginning, teachers were saying, "OK, it's a good idea, but we don't have time." I said, "You're in class 46 minutes a day for 'prep' and SPECS

> is your curriculum planning." Teachers now sit in their classrooms—they help students or they do planning. After school there is a 26 minute period for planning. We got time squared away because we got it in perspective. They asked about time to breathe, but I said it came before and after school. SPECS *is* the school planning, evaluation, and communication system. All meetings are in the morning. Teachers love it. I get them to school at 7:30 a.m.
>
> Teachers also worry about a loss of identity, not getting to "do their own thing." But they are not hired to do their own thing. If you're a racist, you're not hired to teach racism, you're hired to teach skills. I told a new candidate, "We're not looking for a new program, we're looking for persons to fit into an ongoing program."
>
> To look at advantages, our program is more individualized. Because of the planning, there is less wasted time. Student expectancies are better. Students are more fairly evaluated. Although the teacher may be the authority, kids see the standards for judgment and tend to rate themselves the same. Teachers are forced to evaluate, to look back and see what was successful. And SPECS is forcing teachers to work together so students taking the same course get the same thing.
>
> From the classroom teacher's perspective, once teachers start working together, they almost invariably choose the same lesson plan. And know absolutely where they're going.
>
> The program is 100% effective. But we've identified a few articulate negative people. Maybe you'd find that percent anywhere.

Recurring Themes in Technocrat Talk

The immediate concerns of a technocratically oriented principal differ markedly from the concerns of researchers. If each speaker had not specifically mentioned SPECS, it might seem doubtful that a researcher's comments related to issues of design or of "consequence vs. treatment variables" have anything in common with a principal's concern for standardizing a math program or preparing a school budget. In identifying an abstract picture, however, the themes suggested by the first technocratic excerpt are also discernible in the principal's remarks. Let me review some of the similarities by drawing attention to three dominant and interrelated themes—the value of information, the value of rational planning, and the value of progress.*

Information. The essence of being a good technocrat is to exert control. Regardless of whether that control is directed at predicting and managing particular settings (as with line administrators) or represents command of a particular area of knowledge (as with researchers and academicians) what one needs is information. SPECS' primary technocratic appeal was that it was a data-generating system; recall that the first letter in its original acronym DEPS stood for "data-based." The data were to provide a basis for improving effectiveness (control) throughout the educator ranks. Technocrats put great faith in information, and SPECS' capability for generating data appeared to be limitless. Lacking the faith that technocrats place in information, teachers became increasingly antagonistic toward providing information that seemed not to improve their own position but threatened to increase others' control over them.

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* Identifying technocratic themes has occupied the attention of a number of author/critics in recent years. To the names of Roszak and Thompson, already cited, one might add Peter Berger, Jacques Ellul, Alvin Gouldner, Jurgen Habermas, Claus Mueller, and Lewis Mumford. In my brief look at the technocratic ideational system, I have called attention only to themes clearly manifested in the case study.

Rational planning. Arriving at systematic order through rational planning is another central technocratic preoccupation. The plan becomes all-important, an end rather than a means. Everything turns on clearly stated goals and purposes. The same faith that underwrites information-gathering activities underwrites efforts to put that information to good use through rational decision-making. Technocratic endeavor thrives under the banner of the Rational Planning Ideology.

Progress. To a technocrat, there is no question that whatever is being done now can be done better. The only question is where to begin.

Ideational Differences Among Technocrats

It is important to acknowledge within-moiety differences in the ideational systems of technocrats as well as teachers, and to recognize that such differences lead to similar problems for both groups in trying to mobilize moiety members to unified courses of action. The issue of control, for example, caused an unanticiplated split between South Lane administrators —who saw in SPECS an opportunity for dealing more directly with the evaluation of teacher effectiveness—and the developers—who wanted to keep SPECS free of that sensitive issue.

Whether SPECS was or was not producing information related to teacher effectiveness became an issue not only between the moieties but among technocrats themselves. After the events of Year Four, for example, no administrator would have made a statement of the sort, "This is a tool for evaluating teacher performance and that's what we pay them for." Similarly, in spite of the known enthusiasm for improving educator accountability statewide, members of the State Department of Education were loathe to take steps in support of SPECS that might be interpreted as antagonistic toward teachers in general.

Differences in the Ideational Systems of Teachers and Technocrats

Thus far I have drawn a rough sketch of the ideational system of each moiety without giving much attention to the relationship between them. Now I turn to a comparison of the two systems, expanding on the ideas prompted by the protocol excerpts and consonant with observations made in other settings. The excerpts draw attention to a contrast between an orientation to means among teachers and an orientation to ends among technocrats. Technocrats struggle to define what they want to accomplish and then attempt to set a course that will accomplish their objectives.

Teachers, on the other hand, seem unable to explicate precisely what they want; their objectives are global and diffuse. Technocratic precision only helps teachers to recognize what they don't want when someone attempts to impose it on them.

In the early stages of the research component's deliberations, references were made frequently to the fact that SPECS needed to be carefully defined before any meaningful research could be proposed. This concern is reflected in the researcher's comment that SPECS "points with an elbow instead of with a finger." Contrast this attitude with teacher comments that reveal a characteristic concern for "covering all their bases at once." The teachers could not reach consensus on what they thought about SPECS or what they thought they should do about it. They were perturbed both about the system and the way it had been imposed, yet they had no strategy for organizing their objections other than simply getting information "out in the open."

It was no surprise to hear someone comment during a teachers' meeting on SPECS, "This is the first time the subject of kids has come up in this discussion." In some variation, that sentiment is voiced any time teachers review a new procedure perceived by them to be a threat to their authority in classroom instruction. It would have been quite surprising to hear a similar concern voiced among the research staff; they focused their attention on the project, on school districts and schools, and, in the particular example quoted, on learning rather than learners. Generally, technocrats look to the task, while teachers are more inclined to look at the personal impact on those who might be affected by a proposed change. As one teacher expressed it:

> Teachers do not operate in a vacuum as researchers do. Researchers can talk for hours in an impersonal way about learning, but teachers had better be concerned with real students in a very personal way, or else get out.

Teachers value their calling and cherish the freedom and autonomy they feel is rightfully theirs. However, they often seem unaware of the ambivalance generated when a high calling is not related to clearly defined purposes. In itself, the responsibility of being a teacher is not a powerful charter; like SPECS, such an assignment points with an elbow instead of a finger. Technocrats are not plagued by that ambiguity; they address problems that are as explicitly stated as possible, guided by rules that are often of their own making. In contrast with a teacher who laments, "Why don't they leave us alone?" a technocrat can rather precisely describe the anticipated end product of an extended research effort, even if issues of research design and selection of target school districts are unresolved. One can even detect a note of inevitability in the comment of the teacher who said, "In our district it's going to be SPECS; somewhere else it will be a different program." The sequence is set; while the technocrats look for ways to change education, the teachers muster their forces as necessary and wonder half aloud, "What next?"

Creating a comprehensive catalogue of similarities and differences between the ideational systems of teachers and technocrats is an ambitious task considerably beyond the intent of this book. However, I can point out sufficient contrasts to suggest the pervasive differences that permeate the interactions between members of the two moieties. To do so, I will examine three major differences in their ideational systems—*differing time orientations, differing orientations toward authority*, and *differing orientations in style*.

I have chosen these particular categories after reviewing the kinds of differences that became apparent throughout my fieldwork, drawing on the study in its entirety rather than from specific incidents.* My discussion of these categories, as well as the sketches of the two ideational systems, are presented here so that readers may weigh their cogency and appropriateness for examining the details of the moiety division in the chapters that follow.

Differing Time Orientations

The literature of education is filled with references to the future. As I recall, educators were already talking about preparing children for the 21st Century in the late 1950s. On reflection, however, I realize that talk of the future is a particular favorite among those educators I have labeled technocrats. Technocrats carry the banner of change and improvement as a constant reminder that we must strive to make tomorrow better than today. Who can deny that schools can be improved or that they should be changed for the better? Of course, whether change in and of itself is necessarily desirable is another question; I think technocrats would almost invariably insist that it is.

The forward look of the technocrat is nicely demonstrated in the following statement by the South Lane superintendent:

> When I went to the last national school administrators' meeting I thought I'd be hearing about what a lot of other districts were doing that was new. But I hardly heard anything new. I spent most of my time telling people what we are doing. We're so far ahead of other districts here. This district, with CASEA's help, has really gone way ahead of other schools.

A letter from the developer to the school district at about the same time similarly applauded South Lane as a district ahead of its own time:

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* A number of authors in recent years have contributed to the descriptions of special subgroups within education, in addition to those who have addressed technocratic themes. A recent and commendable addition for understanding the ideational system of teachers is Dan C. Lortie's *Schoolteacher* (1975). Lortie identifies conservatism, individualism, and presentism as three dominant orientations in his discussion of teacher "sentiments." Lortie is singled out for special mention, not only for the salience of his work, but because one of his former students who was associated with the SPECS research component called frequent attention to the importance of teacher reactions to SPECS and to Lortie's studies in this regard.

> More than any other school district, not only in Oregon, but anywhere in the United States, South Lane has developed during the past three years the basic mechanisms necessary to generate and use each of these six kinds of information. . . . South Lane is already well on the way to accomplishing what all districts in Oregon will be asked to accomplish within the next few years.

The course of events in South Lane suggests that teachers did not feel the same urgency about having their district in the vanguard. In fact, they were suspicious that the real purpose of SPECS was to benefit their superintendent rather than the school district.

I think that teachers and technocrats agree in principle that there is always room for improvement in education; possibly both groups recognize that teaching requires such energy that major changes are unlikely to be initiated by teachers. But I think that teachers question why change must be introduced with such magnitude or with such frequency and why there appears to be so little regard for what they already have accomplished.* Teachers are particularly suspicious of externally mandated and imposed changes, just as technocrats are suspicious of adamant insistence on the status quo. Long-time teachers have experienced wave after wave of change attempts and have developed a large repertoire for coping with the relentless tides of change. Their basic attitude toward change is perhaps best described by Lortie's term "conservatism."

Reinforcing this natural conservatism is teachers' orientation toward the present, epitomized in the teacher question "What kind of day did you have?" and into rather easily distinguishable "good days" and "bad days." Lortie introduces the "good day" concept under the theme of teacher "presentism." An important element of presentism is the view that teacher satisfaction in a good teaching day is linked closely to the opportunity for interaction with students. At one time in the deliberations of the research component, one person posed the research hypothesis that "the degree to which SPECS—or any other innovation—interposes itself between the teacher and the class will be the degree to which the innovation will be rejected." I think the hypothesis failed to attract attention because it was so grounded in teacher ideology that it failed to catch the fancy of a technocratically oriented staff. Yet it provides both an interesting explanation of what happened in Cottage Grove and a warning to other technocrats: most attempts to "help" teachers are dismissed because teachers feel that such attempts inevitably interfere with their ongoing instructional programs and offer only faint promise of a payoff in the future. A number of South Lane teachers objected to SPECS on the grounds that time spent planning for next year's lessons was taken at the cost of this year's students.

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* Cf. Lortie's observation: "Teachers have a built-in resistance to change because they believe that their work environment has never permitted them to show what they can really do" (Lortie 1975:235).

If one can make a valid distinction between preparing and planning, my impression is that teachers show a preference for the former. They like to be ready for each class, but they do not show much enthusiasm for detailed long-range planning.* As one teacher noted, "It's got to be flexible." SPECS exacerbated teacher antipathy for planning by drawing attention and energy away from preparation for current classroom assignments and redirecting it to future planning. The differing time orientations of teachers and technocrats are revealed in this brief exchange reported by a principal:

> One teacher told me, "My contract calls for me to teach kids, not all this other shit." And I said to him, "Where does it say that? And where's your plan for that teaching?"

The constant clamor for improvement, the emphasis on measureable outcomes, and the sense of urgency that nurture the technocratic proclivity for speed and efficiency are also major factors in accounting for technocratic shortcomings and failures. Technocrats create their own impatient environment. The milestones of the project did indeed become tombstones—everything had to be done too quickly, on too grand a scale. SPECS was implemented in South Lane after only one year of part-time developmental effort. The developers' own guidelines cautioned that successful implementation might take five to ten years, and yet in their maiden effort they attempted to achieve that goal in three years. Before the pilot test was complete, SPECS was being advertised nationally, and before those subsequent trials concluded, the project had been terminated. Time proved a double-edged sword; the teachers took too much, and the technocrats allowed too little. The technocrats promised to bring the future to the present; the teachers countered with efforts to assure continuity between present and future.

Differing Orientations Toward Authority

The excerpts quoted earlier and the course of the entire pilot study clearly demonstrate that teachers do not look to technocrats as the source of authority in teaching and that technocrats do not look to teachers as the source of authority in educational management. However, each group reluctantly concedes some authority in the other's domain as a trade-off for retaining more exclusive authority in its own. This intriguing relationship will be discussed at length in chapter 9 in examining reciprocity between the moieties.

In terms of formal authority and official sanction, the balance of power clearly favors the technocrats. Technocrats operate with the support of rules and regulations they help to formulate, and their efforts are buttressed by their easy access to vital resources (especially funds and staff help), by their relatively unconstrained time, and by their links to other policy-making groups. The immediate benefits of our technological society accrue largely to the technocrats—to the seeming detriment of teachers. However, authority must be accepted as well as be exercised in order to be effective, and here is where teachers can stand firm.

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* An apt analogy might be the difference between having an adequately stocked cupboard vs. developing a planned menu for the next two weeks.

> Whatever knowledge may be possessed by those charged with supervisory duties, that knowledge cannot be said to control teacher behavior if teachers themselves choose to pay little heed (Lortie 1975:74).

Consistent with their ideological preference for professional autonomy and individualism, teachers recognize that their authority derives not from the organizational structure of education but from their instructional and managerial capabilities in the classroom. This emphasis on instructional competence fits in nicely with teacher orientations to the present by restricting the authority derived from teacher status to experienced teachers actively engaged in teaching. Time and time again South Lane teachers' comments illustrated the limits of their professional regard for educator colleagues whom they did not judge to be competent at the teaching craft:

> I think SPECS shows the administrative mentality at work. I think there aren't more than 3 out of the 12 administrators here that I would call successful in the classroom.

* * *

> The administration is too far from the classroom to see what's going on. They should all have to plan and carry out lessons. I think there is one person in the central office who could handle it. And some of the [elementary] principals teach—they keep closer to it. Some of the things that the administration asks show they have no idea what goes on in a class.

* * *

> The CASEA people who came here seemed very young. One wondered if they could have spent much time in classrooms themselves. It's almost as if they had been observers of the educational system rather than workers from within it.

I feel more confident about asserting that there are differences in teachers' and technocrats' orientations toward authority than in trying to describe that authority structure. Perhaps teachers do not "have" authority as much as they exhibit an antiauthority bias toward those formally in charge and an antibureaucratic attitude toward the bureaucracy of the schools. To protect their own cherished autonomy they must respect the autonomy of their peers; as a result, they are singularly careful not to exercise authority over their peers beyond that absolutely demanded by the formal organizational structure (e.g., the authority exercised by division or department heads who continue to hold full-time teaching positions). Teachers are inclined to minimize rather than to elaborate hierarchical relationships and to speak instead of colleagues as "good," "successful," or "effective" teachers who "relate well to kids." The ideal authority structure of teachers is, I believe, so "flat" that most teachers would approve the suggestion that *every* capable full-time teacher, rather than just one from each district or state, should be honored as "teacher of the year."

Differing Orientations in Style

A third set of contrasts between the ideational system of teachers and technocrats comes under the broad rubric of "style." In terms of "doing" and "being done to," technocrats are clearly the active doers; educational administrators sometimes describe themselves as "getters of things done." The flow of attention between teachers and technocrats is largely one way, *to* rather than *from* teachers. Teachers prefer to direct their attention and energies to teacher concerns; ideally I think they would be content to ignore technocrats completely. A very basic difference in style emerges. One moiety directs its efforts toward the other; the second directs its efforts "outside" (i.e., toward students). Teachers thus appear passive, even helpless, in their relationships with administrators. But teacher talk suggests that they think of themselves as frugal with their energy, not devoid of it. They conserve their energies for those arenas where they feel they can make a difference. References to "brick walls" suggest that teachers do not feel very effective against technocrats. I believe they underestimate their effectiveness in that regard.

The practice of issuing directives and demanding compliance from seemingly docile teachers can be heady stuff for technocrats, often producing an air of self-confidence and assuredness that is born of the system's characteristics rather than individual talent. I think technocrats tend to confuse their ability to mobilize system resources with their personal capacity for leadership. When that confidence is put to a test, they may take their setbacks quite personally. An observer once noted how a technocrat who played a central role in the SPECS project seemed to be incredibly insensitive to the feelings of others and yet was incredibly sensitive to the way other people regarded him. Although that observation would by no means pertain to all technocrats, it would be appropriate for a number of them. By contrast, teachers seldom appeared to take things personally; they showed far more compassion and concern for the plights of technocrats than technocrats seemed to show for teachers.

In contrasting the two ideational systems, I noted the purposefulness that characterizes technocratic style. Technocrats are able to zero in quickly on particular facets of a problem, albeit they may attack solvable problems rather than critical ones. I saw evidence of this characteristic as early as my first visit to South Lane with one of the developers. As we drove back to the university after a one and one-half hour meeting at the central office, he asked, "Do you see any long-range possibilities for field studies in your work yet?"

The efficient and orderly bent of technocrats is furthered by a formal organization that gives them immediate access to key resources and permits them to direct virtually all their professional energy to a single purpose (at least for a brief period). Technocratic efficiency in South Lane was epitomized by the incident in which an important letter from the school district to the State Department of Education was dispatched before it had been officially approved by the school board. On a more modest scale, the technocrats were forever circumventing, placating, or outmaneuvering teachers on a moment-to-moment basis.

Technocrats quickly and easily convene meetings during prime time on any work day, with ample resources for gathering necessary information and disseminating their conclusions. Teachers, however, are busy teaching during those hours and have only after-school or weekend hours available for collective action. In addition, the efficiency and continuity of teacher groups are constantly hampered by vagaries of individual teacher schedules and varying degrees of personal commitment. The problem of ever-changing membership constantly plagued the SPECS Committee in its efforts to remain a truly representative teacher group. After a five-hour Saturday work session, a member of the SPECS Committee commented, "Seven people were there but the meeting was largely a rehash, because there were some new people on the committee who hadn't been through it all."

The difficulties of communication within the teacher network were apparent time and time again as teachers failed to receive word of late afternoon meetings or arrived for meetings that had been cancelled. Communication with teachers outside the district was largely a result of chance contacts. The difficulty of trying to communicate professionally and formally with teachers in distant districts was dramatized when a letter from the SPECS Committee to the teachers' association in a district considering adoption of SPECS was handled instead by that district's SPECS coordinator.*

It is useful to contrast the authoritarian and hierarchical style of technocrats with the egalitarian style of teachers. Technocrats believe in a hierarchy of authority; they easily organize the world into hierarchies of status and position, tasks, and knowledge. Teachers seem to eschew hierarchical structures within their own ranks. While technocrats cope with teachers through stable and permanent administrative structures (cf. Wallace 1971), teachers seem to cope with technocrats through temporary *ad hoc* arrangements about as sophisticated as a Plains Indian raiding party.

However, teachers can hardly deny the presence of hierarchical systems, since the school districts that employ them are rigidly organized. Formal organization charts place teachers at the bottom of the professional hierarchy, and such is the reality of teachers in the occupational setting. Teachers' authority is directed outside the professional hierarchy; their almost inviolate authority over students in the classroom contrasts markedly with their lack of formal authority within the educator system.

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* In replying, the coordinator expressed great interest in any and all materials that the SPECS Committee had prepared. He asked so many specific questions that a committee spokesman lamented, "It's going to take half a day just to get the answers to all his questions!" The developer had a close working relationship with this particular SPECS coordinator, and it seems likely that information originally intended for teachers was channeled directly back to the SPECS project director.

Rather than yearn for prerogatives they cannot attain, teachers seem to place little value on the formal elements of authority, power, and control. Their value system turns on processes of becoming rather than on processes of controlling. Learning is at the apex of that value system; teaching is the instrumental activity through which teachers help others to achieve it. In their zeal teachers are inclined to confuse teaching with learning, and that confusion will forever provide a basis for technocratic concern; technocrats are inclined to use authority simply because they have it, and that will forever provide a basis for teacher concern.

There is a definite contrast between the technocratic view that puts teachers at the bottom of the authority/control hierarchy and teacher views of themselves, which are oriented around a totally different set of values involving student learning. The ideational systems of teachers and technocrats are basically different in very important ways. Nevertheless, members of both moieties share common purposes and goals, and the educator system appears united. This contrast helps explain why a technocrat who appeared to be sensitive to teachers could comment after a meeting with the SPECS Committee on the "incredible arrogance" of teachers who act as though they alone are the sum and substance of formal education.

The next three chapters spell out more specific details about and contrasts between the moieties from the perspective gained by examining the anthropological literature. The final chapter summarizes this approach and allows for some reflection on the case study. However, I do not intend to elaborate on the similarities or differences between the ideational systems of the two moieties beyond what I have said in this chapter. I have taken the analysis as far as I feel is warranted; I could continue to draw minor comparisons, but the basic configuration would remain the same.

If conceptualization of two differing ideational systems within educator subculture has broader utility than in the analysis of the present case, that utility will have to be demonstrated in other settings and by other observers. What needs to be examined now is the proposition that differences in "ideas, meanings, and knowledge" of sufficient magnitude to comprise distinguishable ideational subsystems are reflected in and, more importantly, are accommodated by the social structure of the educator subculture.

Chapter 8

Educator Moieties: Antithesis and Rivalry

> At the beginning of all this we were sitting at opposite ends of the room. And now we're sitting at the same table.
>
> —SPECS Committee Member

THE LITERATURE REVIEW in chapter 6 called attention to the importance of "conceptual antithesis" as a pervasive characteristic in societies with moieties. Only three among the many characteristics discussed earlier appear to be invariably associated with moieties—conceptual antithesis, the exchange of goods and services, and a principle of recruitment. Of these, the latter two processes are easily in evidence in educator moieties. Evidence related to conceptual antithesis will be discussed at considerable length in this chapter.

I have elected to consider antithesis and rivalry, two related and complementary dimensions of moieties, together in a single chapter. These two characteristics may be subsumed under the more general category of reciprocity, but antithesis and rivalry are of sufficient importance to merit separate treatment first. The broad topic of reciprocity is the focus of chapter 9.

Conceptual Antithesis

In much the same way that social structure is said to reside in the mind of the anthropologist, so conceptual antitheses are concealed in the minds of a society's members. Because conceptual differences are not directly observable, the anthropologist must be content with indirect evidence of their existence. Moiety literature identifies a number of characteristics that can be examined for evidence of antithesis, including conscious recognition of the duality, naming, recruitment, spatial arrangements, use of contrasting decoration or ornamentation, association with antithetical aspects of nature, use of sacred emblems, and competition in ceremonies and games. I will examine all but the last of these as illustrations of conceptual antitheses, reserving competition in ceremonies and games for my discussion of rivalry.

Conceptual antitheses are revealed directly through the ways in which members of a society indicate their awareness of the dual division and implicity in the ways they indicate their membership in one group or the other. It should be noted, however, that because members of moieties often go beyond mere recognition of the duality to proclaim the superiority of their own ornaments, names, or emblems (e.g., "Take care! Wolves eat pigs!"), the boundary between conceptual distinctions and actual rivalry is often arbitrary.

Conscious Recognition of the Duality and Naming

Educators often refer to or imply dualities within their ranks, either through "we/they" comparisons or by assigning contrasting group labels. Sometimes these dualities suggest that the speaker is thinking of an educator subculture consisting of only two divisions. Expressions and terms like the following examples from my field notes support the moiety notion:

administrative mentality
administrative needs vs teacher needs
down here . . . working with kids
educators vs administrators
humanistic vs mechanistic
instruction vs administration
ivory tower
peon level
people on the firing line
teachers vs administrators
teachers vs bureaucrats
teachers vs downtown plus CASEA
teachers vs the management team
teachers vs us
the union
their machine
us vs them

On the other hand, I do not want to imply that educator language invariably supports a dual division. Some labels provide no suggestion as to how the speaker views the entire system. Sometimes the unit of reference is so small that it suggests more than two divisions in the educator system, even though "we/they" language is employed:

central administration vs building principals
full-time teachers
just an administrator
people doing research
person who has never taught
they can hold up our checks
those university people

In South Lane, references by teachers to "they" usually referred to admininstrators in general, or more specifically to the central office, or more specifically still, to the superintendent. References to "they" by central office personnel usually referred to teachers. The question of how principals fit into this conceptual framework will be discussed as a separate issue.

I have already noted the human tendency to think in terms of dualities and the prevalence of the manager/worker dichotomy in American thinking. It is not surprising that educators tend toward a dualistic view of their universe and that this duality follows the natural division between classroom teachers and line administrators. It is easy to understand why teachers tend to single out administrators as their complement and opposition, since administrators are virtually the only other category of professional personnel with whom classroom teachers have direct and sustained contact. That teachers single out administrators does not necessarily deny the presence of other types of nonteachers as much as it emphasizes the fact that one subset of nonteachers is of greatest importance to teachers.

Before the SPECS intervention, it is unlikely that many of South Lane's teachers had interacted with educational developers, anthropologists, or even with state department officials. The category "administrators" ordinarily proves sufficiently encompassing to include all nonteachers. Time and time again teacher comments distinguished the teacher view from the administrative one. (Note, however, that such contrasts imply a unanimity of viewpoint that is seldom borne out in fact.)

> You'll get two points of view in any school—the administrators', and what the teachers really think.
>
> * * *
>
> The 'powers-that-be' never bother to ask teachers what they think.
>
> * * *
>
> I don't think SPECS allows or even encourages getting the most out of teachers. It tends to fix budget items and make life pleasant for the administrators. But we aren't here for the pleasure of the administration.

A distinct advantage the moiety division has over the usual teacher/administrator division is the sensitivity of the moiety model to distinctions of particular importance among educators. Within the ranks of administrators, teachers customarily identify some teacher-oriented individuals who have not "forgotten what it's like." Teachers continue to treat such individuals as allies and confidants even though they are no longer "on the firing line" meeting direct instructional responsibilities. The moiety model allows us to assign teacher-oriented individuals to the teacher moiety even if their professional assignment appears to identify them as technocrats. Conversely, there are some technocratically oriented individuals among teachers, particularly among young males bidding for administrative assignments (cf. Blood 1966; Griffiths *et al.* 1965; Wolcott 1974). The moiety system does not assume that every individual standing before a classroom is teacher-oriented, or that every educator without instructional responsibilities is a technocrat.

The moiety division also resolves the nagging problem of assigning lower-level administrators to seemingly antithetical categories (teacher or administrator) that are not necessarily antithetical at all. Department chairpersons and deans at the secondary level, and vice principals and counselors at all levels, can be more sensitively assigned on an individual basis to one or the other moiety rather than treated categorically. Whether administrators fill staff or line positions or retain minor instructional responsibilities is of less concern under the moiety model than whether they are sympathetic toward the concerns of teachers or see teachers as the target of their concern.

A case in point is the role of the Program Planning Leader (PPL) in South Lane. Teachers occasionally reminded themselves and each other that PPLs were still teachers, since they continued to meet their own classes. But just as there were cases in which an individual PPL acted as a buffer between teachers and SPECS, there were other PPLs who appeared eager to exert authority over their colleagues. One pro-SPECS junior high school teacher was nevertheless dismayed by the heavy-handed manner of that school's PPLs:

> The overall concept of SPECS is tremendous. The hang-ups occur in putting it into practice. The developers say the choices ought to be up to the teacher. In fact, our PPLs make the choices. The document says you may want to pretest or not, pretest only a few, and so on. But the PPLs have made those decisions for us.

Another teacher at the same school argued that, in spite of their newly assumed authority, PPLs were not administrators:

> I think it's a good thing to keep the PPL separate from an administrative role like the division head. The PPL should be a full-time classroom teacher who is handling all the chores of teaching. Otherwise you could get some gung-ho administrator type who might drive teachers up the walls.

"Teaching principals," elementary school principals who also have part-time instructional assignments, have always been difficult to classify using a teacher-administrator dichotomy. During the SPECS era in South Lane, such individuals appeared to maintain their identity with one or the other moiety according to individual persuasions. For example, the exclusion of elementary principals from the continuing deliberations of the SLEA SPECS Committee eventually prompted the following discussion at one meeting:

> *Committee Member*: When did the two principals drop out?
>
> *Chairman*: I just stopped calling them as this became more of an issue concerning classroom teachers.
>
> *Member*: So they were "dropped out," more than they themselves dropped?

> *Chairman*: Well, yes, more or less. I didn't want to put them on the spot.
>
> *Member*: But one of them has a teaching responsibility as well as an administrative one.
>
> *Chairman*: Yes, but basically he answers to the administration.

Teaching principals, like other educators with only partial teaching responsibilities, illustrate types of assignments in which allegiance to the teacher group must be examined in terms of specifics. For example, at the beginning of Year Four the SPECS Committee decided to distribute questionnaires for the teacher survey only to those teaching principals who actually wrote PEDs, thus eliminating certain full-time principals who liked to "keep their hand in" but were not formally required to teach. When one group of six persons randomly selected to participate in the state department's teacher survey included two librarians and one part-time teacher who also managed the Instructional Services Center, teachers felt the need once again to review the acceptable boundaries of group membership. Although the three people in question were officially classified as instructional staff, they were not generally recognized as teachers by the district's full-time instructional personnel.

The principal has long been touted as the "man in the middle," at once sympathetic to teachers and to the central office (cf. Spindler 1963:234).* That ambivalence was sometimes evident in the case study. For example, the high school principal in South Lane was acutely aware of the difficulty of trying to "wear two hats" while working with a superintendent who preferred clearly drawn lines of authority. As the principal stated:

> The superintendent's feeling is that there is a clear-cut separation between teachers and the management team and that the teachers are trying to usurp the role of management. The principals don't see it—especially the principals at the elementary level. They voted to stay with the teachers.

Referring to his role as president of the teachers' organization during Year Three of the pilot study, the high school principal explained:

> I know how my boss feels about teacher organizations. He wasn't happy to have one of the management team working with the teachers. On the other hand, I thought maybe I could turn things around a bit and make it easier for other administrators and better for the district.

Clearly the high school principal was a candidate for the "man in the middle" position as he openly resisted the management team idea in favor of breaking down barriers to "get something going on teacher-administrator communication." Another nominee for that position, at least from the superintendent's perspective, was the district's SPECS coordinator:

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* Authors of descriptive studies face the stylistic problems of a changing usage in which the male singular is no longer the preferred—and often no longer the allowed—style. Educator language has its share of such problems, as implied by assumptions that administrators are males and teachers are females unless otherwise specified (e.g., woman principal, man teacher) and as boldly stated in terms like "schoolman," "spokesman," or "man in the middle." However, in the case study, third-person references to a role usually were references to specific individuals as well.

> I explained to him when I hired him that he's the man in the middle. He's a liaison man between the district office and the school. In him I feel we have an experienced teacher who will be conscientious in his effort to help.

There was also evidence that teachers occasionally saw principals in an intermediate position, separate from teachers but not part of the central administration. This attitude was exemplified during a teacher discussion described in chapter 7:

> *Teacher A*: I wish somebody was paying attention [to teachers]. They might sit down and talk about our ideas.
>
> *Teacher B*: That's what the principals should have been doing all along. But the administration doesn't leave them alone long enough to do it.

Ambiguity surrounding the idea of the middleman in education lends further support to the position that the traditional division of educator subculture into teachers and administrators, though widely used, is nonetheless inappropriate. The moiety analog proposed to replace it neither creates nor allows such ambivalence. There is no dual membership in a dual division, and there is no middle. A moiety form of organization necessitates identification with one group or the other. That clear delineation seems to provide a much better fit for the case and, I believe, for educator subculture in general.

Based on my observations in public schools, it appears that elementary principals are most often members of the teacher moiety and secondary principals are usually members of the technocrat moiety. The very combination of tasks that principals at each level must perform and the size and nature of the institutions they administer probably insures that secondary school administration more often attracts technocratically oriented types than teacher types. The high school principal in the case study proved an exception to this rule; his self-professed interest in curriculum and "secondary kids" and his lack of interest in advancing to a higher administrative position all pointed to his teacher leanings. Some teachers at the high school were skeptical about those leanings, yet they could not deny his apparent respect for their professional autonomy. They frequently recounted how he had backed off on SPECS when he might as easily have pushed it.

By contrast, the district's SPECS coordinator was never accepted as a teacher but was cast quickly in the technocrat role. The fact that he had formerly taught high school social studies (which had been touted as a major reason for hiring him) was totally ignored. During the state department interviews, one teacher commented on the technocratic inclinations of the SPECS coordinator:

> *Interviewer*: The new coordinator is a DP man, right?
>
> *Teacher*: A what?

Interviewer: A data processing man.
Teacher: I'm not sure. But he certainly likes printouts!

If there is sufficient evidence that educators think in dualities, there is no overwhelming evidence that they think in terms of the division exactly as I have drawn it. Clearly they do not label the moieties as teachers and technocrats, and yet the moiety analog suggests that the boundaries between the two divisions should be rather easy to discern.

Part of the problem with locating the boundaries may arise from the fact that the boundaries are in flux. Until public schooling grew large enough to support full-time specialists in administration, there was no dual division—the subculture was comprised essentially of teachers. The advent of the professional educational administrator resulted eventually in a division between teachers and nonteachers. Only relatively recently have the ranks of the nonteacher group been swelled by nonadministrative personnel such as full-time research and development staff. This shift in the composition of the educator subculture occurred mainly in the 1960s, when greatly increased federal spending for educational research, development, and dissemination activities led to an important increase in assignments independent of teaching and not associated with particular school systems.

My thesis that the educator moiety system has been gradually evolving finds support in anthropologists' reports that traditional moieties also change over time. Their observations lead me to suggest that while a dual division has characterized educator subculture as long as there have been full-time nonteaching roles in schools, the subunits that comprise and/or dominate the nonteaching moiety continue to change. What was once an easily discernible division between teachers and administrators may be undergoing a change right before our very eyes, a change for which we have not yet developed appropriate descriptive terminology.

Recruitment

The only critical aspect of recruitment that is identified in the moiety literature is that each moiety must have some basis for perpetuating itself. In many societies, one's membership is ascribed at birth; in others, one is later recruited into a moiety (cf. Ortiz 1969:57). Clearly, membership in neither the educator subculture nor its subdivisions is determined at birth. One becomes an educator through a long period of induction in which members of both moieties play important roles. Neither moiety appears to be an aggressive recruiter; candidates make independent career decisions and seek their opportunities largely on a self-selecting basis (cf. Lortie 1975:25-51). Thus many potential teachers never become teachers at all; some potential administrators remain teachers; and some effective teachers become technocrats. There is some degree of sponsorship into the ranks of both moieties, but sponsorship seems to be on an individual rather than a system basis.

Just as it is sometimes possible to change one's moiety membership in a traditional society,* it is possible to change one's moiety membership in education. At first glance, it appears that such switching is common among educators, but that view assumes that everyone who teaches is a member of the teacher moiety and that all administrators are technocrats. My view is that among classroom teachers there are individuals who feel little affinity for any part of educator subculture (i.e., who do not become members of either moiety except in a purely contractual sense), as well as a few budding technocrats waiting for the first opportunity to get out of the classroom. Similarly, there are always individuals in positions ordinarily filled by technocrats who regret having moved away from classroom teaching and "kids."†

Most technocrats come up through the teacher ranks, a circumstance that complicates any discussion of moiety switching. There is a tendency for teachers to chide technocrats by reminding them of their past experience as teachers. By the same token, technocrats whose behavior is not acceptable to teachers are criticized for having spent too little time in the classroom or for having been out of the classroom too long. The business of one SPECS Committee meeting was interrupted while committee members paused to reflect on the teaching experience of each of the district's administrators, and I recorded such comments as: "hasn't taught for ten years," "hasn't taught since coming here," "not for years," "only taught a year or two," and "I don't know if he ever taught."

The recruiting process illustrates how the two moieties differ in their internal organization and procedures. Technocrats oversee recruitment into the teacher moiety through their gatekeeper positions as administrators and as monitors of state and university regulations pertaining to teacher licensing. On the other hand, teachers exert no gatekeeper functions over the recruitment of technocrats except in the teacher-student role. Technocrats recruit from among teachers. Teachers are not typically recruited from the ranks of technocrats, although administrators occasionally return to full-time teaching and the suggestion of achieving budget economies by reassigning administrators to classroom teaching is often voiced among teachers. Shifts from technocrat to teacher roles most often represent temporary interruptions in administrative careers or signify the end of temporary admininstrative forays by individuals who found little satisfaction in meeting technocratic responsibilities (cf. Wolcott 1973:310). Nonetheless, dedicated and successful members of each moiety frequently comment on how attractive things look on the other side of the fence.

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* One cannot shift moiety membership freely, of course, since it is a process which takes several years, but . . . a shift is possible" (Ortiz 1969:45).

† The ethos of a teacher-oriented individual consciously working to move "up" in education without losing touch with the "firing line" was epitomized in remarks I recorded in previous fieldwork, in which an applicant was explaining his interest in a position as an elementary school principal:

> One of my goals was to go into teacher education. I used to think you could do the most good there, but I think now that's too far removed. You can do more good in the public schools—you're closer there (Wolcott 1974:196).

Although teachers are recruited exclusively under the supervision of technocrats and most technocrats are recruited from the ranks of teachers, technocrats can and do recruit nonteachers directly, particularly into nonadministrative roles like researcher or developer. Thus there is always the possibility that among any group of technocrats there are individuals who have never been exposed to the teacher ethos firsthand. One such individual was attached to the SPECS research component for two years; his total unfamiliarity with education seemed to prove equally frustrating to him and to those who worked with him.

Technocrats who have never taught are quickly singled out to support teachers' perennial claims that the activities of ivory tower technocrats are irrelevant to the problems of classroom instruction. This belief in the critical importance of classroom experience is so strong that an unpopular technocrat who does have the prerequisite experience is liable to find that teachers refuse to acknowledge it anyway. Both of the district's SPECS coordinators and all the developers had teaching experience, but that experience was never acknowledged in teacher conversations that I heard.

Educators seem to take a "live and let live" attitude toward an apparent effort by a colleague to shift from teaching to a technocratic career. I have heard individual educators labeled as "too ambitious," but I think such criticisms are directed mainly at the speed with which some junior colleagues try to advance, not to the fact of their ambition. Most technocrats seem to assume that every teacher would prefer to get out of the classroom, but I have often heard teachers state flatly that they never intend to take any educator role other than that of teacher. Some teachers may taunt an ambitious individual for being an "eager beaver," but sympathetic colleagues are apt to argue that one can do more good by extending his or her sphere of influence beyond the classroom.

The divisive effect of SPECS in South Lane illuminated one strongly held belief about personal mobility among teachers. They do not like to be "used" by a fellow teacher making a bid for a higher position. In this regard, writing a doctoral dissertation takes on a special and quite personal meaning among teachers. I am not sure that all those who complete doctorates in education are convinced of the scholarly value of writing a dissertation, but I am quite certain that almost every teacher who does *not* plan to write a dissertation is utterly convinced that dissertations serve no function other than to advance the career of the writer.

Long-time teachers have invariably been asked or told to help doctoral students by providing data about their students or themselves. Because of the parade of graduate students who visit schools to gather data—whether for themselves or for large-scale research projects—the prevailing notion among teachers is that almost anything people from a university want to know is "for somebody's dissertation." (This lore also holds that in spite of the researchers' promises to provide feedback you never hear from them again, or if you do, it is of no consequence because the studies are so irrelevant).

The sudden arrival of SPECS in South Lane aroused nascent suspicions that somebody—possibly even the superintendent himself—was getting a Ph.D. for the effort. Wary teachers reported that one of the first questions raised (and promises extracted) was whether the purpose of the SPECS study was simply to help some ambitious educator complete an academic requirement. One teacher summarized this position vividly:

> The thing that made me the maddest was that people were getting their doctorates out of this. I asked that question directly at the beginning and was assured that no one was. Yet there were two doctorates in spite of what they said.

Other teachers reported the same perception. In fact, both developers had their doctorates before the project began, and no doctoral studies were anticipated as an integral part of the project. However, the opportunity for one dissertation study did arise during the implementation. The student who completed the dissertation was a graduate assistant who subsequently took a full-time position on the development staff. Several other individuals known to South Lane teachers were incorrectly thought to be working on doctorates through their association with the SPECS project.

Their antagonism toward ambitious colleagues may reveal a more competitive strain among teachers than is ordinarily acknowledged, a reflection of a prevailing cultural pattern of "getting ahead." I recall an early SPECS meeting at CASEA when the developers were discussing possible attractions of the system for individual teachers. One developer proposed that teachers might be inclined to adopt SPECS if they felt that it would "lead to some personal advantage for them . . . to get ahead, to become experts on the new material and thus be able to better their positions." A visiting educator from Australia attending the discussion was flabergasted at the suggestion that American teachers might be attracted to the idea of adopting SPECS on the basis that it could put them ahead of their colleagues. He opined that SPECS stressed qualities of competition and individuality that he characterized as peculiarly American. "In Australia," he noted emphatically, "a teacher gets ahead by helping other teachers. The teachers as a group identify a candidate who has been helpful as a colleague, and together they support his candidacy or put his name up for president of a teachers' association or for openings at the national level."

Spatial and Temporal Arrangements

In the traditional literature moieties are often contrasted for the way that space is allocated between them.* Here I will look as well at some distinctive uses of another precious educator commodity—time. In a modern school system, space and time are closely related. Asymmetry between the moieties is again apparent in the relatively few constraints that technocrats experience in relation to either of them.

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* The formal anthropological study of man's structuring of space, including interpersonal space, is called proxemics. It is known especially through the writing of Edward Hall (1959, 1966, 1968).

Almost paraphrasing the Tewa informant who observed, "In the end we came together again as we are today," a teacher member of the SPECS Committee remarked to the audience assembled in the spring of Year Four to hear the results of the State Department of Education's inquiry into SPECS:

> At the beginning of all this we were sitting at opposite ends of the room. And now we're sitting at the same table.

Conceivably he might also have added, as the Tewa did, "But you can see that we are still divided." Of course, he did not say that. Nonetheless, the opposition that he did note superbly epitomizes conceptual antithesis. Symbolic opposition is repeatedly illustrated in contrasting uses of time and space throughout the events surrounding SPECS, and, more generally, in everyday distinctions common to the schools.

Most technocrats have offices; most teachers do not. People who have offices usually accrue a number of other advantages that can be invaluable in getting work done: privacy; access to telephones, typewriters, and materials; and a home base that is not occupied by others, to name a few. A long-time high school teacher, hardly able to believe my freedom as a university researcher and teacher, once asked, "Doesn't anyone come around to see if you are on the job, or to check when you arrive and leave?" Teachers' offices are their classrooms; whether students are present or not, the teacher is always on stage. By way of contrast, the offices of the junior and senior high school principals (and of the superintendent) in South Lane had two entrances, including one that did not go through an outer office. It was pointed out to me that one was "never really certain" if they were at their desks.

Teachers are also normally in public view when they attend meetings called to conduct their organizational business. When South Lane teachers felt that an appearance at certain meetings might be awkward for some teachers, meetings were held instead in private homes. All teacher meetings must be scheduled for late afternoons or evenings, "after everyone is tired," in contrast to the ease with which technocrats can gather at virtually any hour, or even for an entire day. Their relative freedom in time and space also gives technocrats opportunities for chance informal meetings with other technocrats; teachers are locked into rigid schedules that effectively guarantee that they will meet the same people at the same place day after day.

Compared to the myriad communication opportunities for technocrats, teachers can only try to stay abreast of official news that, for the most part, the technocrats have time to create. A delegation from the SPECS Committee that visited the state superintendent of schools vividly recalled his offhand reference to the speed with which he could get in touch with every district superintendent in the state.

The time and space restrictions on teachers are not particularly bothersome on a day-to-day basis. Although teachers are tied to their desks, that fact is well known and accepted as a condition of employment. But occasionally teachers are struck by a reminder of how time-bound and place-bound they are. For example, members of the SPECS Committee thought it would be useful to pursue the problems outlined in their official letter requesting a State Department of Education inquiry by talking face-to-face with a state official about the kind of help they were seeking. They waited until school was dismissed for Christmas vacation, their first opportunity for a weekday visit to the state capital. When they telephoned for an appointement, however, they learned that the official they hoped to visit had scheduled his own vacation to coincide with the school holiday. On another occasion, a teacher representative from a distant school district who spoke to South Lane teachers (after school) about problems of mutual concern noted that any teacher was welcome to attend meetings of the statewide commission dealing with teacher standards and practices. However, as she also observed, "The problem is that the meetings are held during the day—on Fridays."

If one stops to think about the allocation of space in a school, one quickly realizes that under the "blooming, buzzing confusion" that may first greet an observer, there is much evidence of territoriality that governs who has authority over any particular area. This territoriality has been most thoroughly described as it relates to students (cf. Cusick 1973; Feer 1975), but it is at least implicit in discussions of teacher autonomy or teacher isolation (cf. Warren 1973, 1975; Wax, *et al.* 1964).

Merely enumerating those places in a school district in which teachers or administrators move freely, or in which their presence might cause some consternation, reveals a number of complex territorial boundaries. The South Lane superintendent, for example, was perceived by most teachers as a person who remained at the central office and "kept a low profile" (at least prior to the implementation of SPECS). If there was implied criticism in that observation, it was also true that his presence in a school was a cause for speculation. For instance, an active member of the SPECS Committee wondered whether an unprecedented classroom visit by the superintendent was unrelated to SPECS, was an overture for improving superintendent-teacher relations, or was a subtle form of intimidation. There was no question about the superintendent's technical right to be in any classroom, but there was a very real question about the meaning of his presence on a particular teacher's turf.

In a dual system in which space has symbolic meaning, it is of interest to identify areas designated as exclusive or neutral ground and to examine how space is used in arenas where the two groups do meet, particularly under circumstances of confrontation. In South Lane, the high school library was the most frequently used formal gathering place for the district's teachers, and most meetings involving teachers from other schools were convened there. Administrators were often, but not always, invited to meetings in the library, either as observers or as official representatives. A meeting room at the central office was probably viewed as neutral turf by the administration, but it was clear from teacher reaction to the idea of holding state department interviews there that teachers did not perceive it as neutral. The formal public arena for confrontations between the teachers and the administration was at the school board meetings regularly scheduled for alternate Tuesday evenings. These meetings were held at the junior high school, usually in the library but sometimes in the nearby multi-purpose room if a large crowd was anticipated.

SPECS provoked a number of confrontations in this formal meeting arena, and many teachers felt that its space was subtly manipulated to their disadvantage. For example, at one board meeting where SPECS was to be discussed, teachers discovered that only one microphone, placed in front of the chairman, had been provided for the entire school board. (The superintendent always sat next to the chairman.) This seemed to confirm the rumor that the board planned to present a "solid front" in speaking about SPECS. Teachers and other audience members were expected to use a standing microphone placed on the floor some distance opposite the chairman. One observer commented that this arrangement put any teacher in the rather awkward position of seeming to give a "recitation" before the board.*

At some board meetings a special table was set up for principals, just as a special table was always reserved for the press. Sometimes all principals sat together, but the high school principal seemed little inclined to join his colleagues there. Instead, he moved freely about the room before and after meetings (and often during them as well), pausing to talk with the superintendent and with parents and teachers seated in the audience. I felt that his rather idiosyncratic behavior lent support to my notion that, despite his administrative responsibilities, his primary identification remained with teachers.

In the previous chapter, examining contrasts in the ideational systems of teachers and technocrats, I pointed to contrasts in time between the future orientation of technocrats and the presentism of teachers. Technocrats keep a watchful eye down the road for what is coming next and worry that teachers will not be ready for it. Teachers find they can barely keep up with day-to-day demands. As one teacher expressed it:

> We just don't have time anymore. Everybody's on the run. I don't even go to the faculty lounge. There just isn't time.

I think space and time join nicely in the contrast between educator moieties. The teachers' universe tends to be closed in, consisting essentially of the classroom, the school, and the school district (in descending order of importance). Few teachers become involved in educational activities or organizations at the regional, state, or national level; those who do face continual frustration because of their restricted time and mobility. Only after years of frustration with the SPECS program did South Lane's teachers decide to take their concerns beyond the district's borders, and they never did find a genuine ally to their cause. By contrast, the district's technocrats were tuned in to state and national developments, which led them to believe they had an exceptionally favorable climate for any effort toward greater educational accountability. They were so convinced that they were pioneering a national trend that they failed to pay sufficient attention to the problems occurring before their very eyes.

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* Although teachers appeared at a disadvantage with this spatial arrangement, I do not know that such was the actual intent; there were other complications involving microphone hookups, traditional seating patterns, etc.

Reflecting on whom he might ask for a recommendation if he decided to look elsewhere for a teaching position, a teacher active in the SPECS Committee mused:

> I wouldn't hesitate to ask the superintendent. He is fair. And he might be glad to see me go. But a superintendent's recommendation isn't so valuable in teaching, because he's *so far removed* from the classroom.

I do not know for sure if the teacher was referring to time or space in referring to the distance between the superintendent and teachers; given the way teachers view technocrats, he might well have been referring to both.

Use of Contrasting Decoration or Ornamentation

I perked up my ears when I heard teachers contrast "the black hats and the white hats" during a heated discussion about SPECS. Clearly, I assumed, such a comment referred to a we-they split described in terms of symbolically contrasted head pieces. As it turned out, however, the reference was to a division within the teacher group (the unexpected appearance of a pro-SPECS petition) rather than to a contrast between teachers and technocrats. As a former Californian, I winced to hear one of South Lane's technocrats described as " . . . a typical Californian — flashy clothes, flashy car, and a shallow person who can make a good first impression." Such observations hardly prove that the educator moieties follow a practice of using contrasting decoration or ornamentation, but similar observations do at least invite some speculation in this regard.

In mode of dress, neither teachers nor technocrats are what one might call fashion pacesetters. Nonetheless, it is not too difficult to distinguish most teachers from most technocrats by their everyday apparel. In general, I think that technocrats pay more attention to dress than do teachers. They may not wear more expensive clothes, but their concern about dress is revealed in the relative uniformity they evidence among themselves and in their sometimes-too-obvious attempts to model a dress standard for teachers. To the extent that technocrats express any official opinion about how teachers dress, their interest tends to be collective, regulatory, and generally unappreciative; conversely, when teachers comment on how technocrats dress, it is usually on an individual basis and is complimentary. Each group monitors the other for excesses; the above comment about "flashy clothes" is an example of teacher disapproval for educators who are too well dressed for their job. Technocrats express concern that, without an occasional reminder, some teachers would not dress well enough.

One might also catalogue differences in how work spaces are appointed. The work areas of technocrats (particularly those who meet with noneducators) often reveal a conscious effort to convey both a touch of class and a sense of order. Conveying an image of orderliness and tastefulness is more difficult if one does not have individually assigned space. Lacking a place in which to create a personal image, teachers simply keep that part of their lives to themselves. They rarely display name plates, and since they cannot appoint the walls and shelves of nonexistent offices, they leave their paintings and art objects at home. It is not their distinctive use of ornamentation that contrasts them with technocrats, but rather their failure to use it at all.

On the other hand, technocrats appear less inclined to carry with them any object or ornament that signals their educator role. They can always summon others to their offices to conduct official business. It is teachers who are most apt to carry or wear items that indicate their status, such as roll books, lessons, clipboards, whistles, chalk, marking pencils, warm-up suits, and shop or lab coats. These items are conspicuously missing among technocrats.

Association with Antithetical Aspects of Nature/Use of Sacred Emblems

Among teachers, teaching itself constitutes what is sacred. Teaching is viewed idealistically as a mystique that combines the science of teaching and the art of teaching, with emphasis on the latter. I know of no teacher who would be offended to be called an artist.

Technocrats, too, blend science and art, and within their ranks one occasionally finds proponents of the art of administration or researchers who are true scientists. For the most part, however, the blend that technocrats achieve between science and art provides them their own individual ethos based on a commitment to rationality. Technocrats like to think of themselves as scientific in their orientation (particularly in comparison to teachers), but the everyday demands of their world do not allow them the luxury of being full-time scientists. Science is revered, but it is too elusive and impractical to provide the basis for an ideational system. Rationality is the sacred element for technocrats, as critical to them as teaching is to teachers.

Although neither moiety actually has or displays a sacred emblem that represents its distinguishing ethos, it is easy to suggest appropriate sacred emblems for each of them that also satisfy the condition of representing antithetical elements in nature. These emblems can be equated with the "crests" sometimes described among preliterate societies.*

The teacher crest is *the learner*, usually mentioned in ambiguous plural references to pupils, students, or, most popularly, "kids." A mechanistically oriented program like SPECS gave teachers unlimited opportunity to contrast their responsibility to kids with the demands of SPECS. A junior high school teacher made the contrast quite explicit:

> With SPECS you become so goal-oriented that you lose sight of kids. You become mechanical. One step further and you'd be in programmed learning. But man is basically a classifying critter, and that's what we're doing.

A discussion among SPECS Committee members of the findings of their first survey caused one teacher to conclude:

> This tells me that the ultimate purpose of a PPBS is to get a budget planned and into the computer on one line, and to hell with the kids.

The crest of technocrats is *the report*. The case study is replete with evidence of the importance of report-making throughout the technocrat moiety; in fact, SPECS as both a planning system and as an R & D project epitomized the technocratic proclivity for recording and reporting. I have chosen an inanimate object for the technocrat's crest to emphasize that technocrats are oriented to things rather than to people. I do not mean to suggest that technocrats are unconcerned with people, but rather that they address their concerns to readily manageable elements. Reports—even if they are about people—are infinitely more manageable than people themselves.†

Each moiety not only recognizes but respects the crest of the other. No educator of any persuasion would dismiss the importance of "kids," and no educator would deny the essential role of reporting. Yet I doubt that either moiety would equate the importance of the other moiety's crest with that of its own. Nor is either moiety fully able to exploit the potential power symbolized in the other's crest.

Teachers are always glad to hear technocrats join them in insisting upon

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* Emblems perceived to bear some relation to the origin of a moiety are referred to as totems (cf. chapter 6). A crest is not associated with origins. Thus crest seems the better term for the hypothetical emblems that I propose.

† The accusation that they are insufficiently attentive to human qualities, or are more interested in things than in people, can weigh heavily on technocrats. That accusation was said to be responsible for one of the offshoot developments of PPBS that paralleled SPECS:

> The authors of ERMS [Educational Resources Management System] explain that the use of the initials ERMS replaces the traditional PPBS largely because they felt references to PPBS were linked too closely to business and industry which focus primarily upon inanimate products. A new title was needed, they believed, to more nearly fit the concerns for humans which are characteristic of education (Koerner 1972:3).

"what is best for kids." Beyond the platitudes, however, teachers are skeptical of the sincerity of such remarks.* Similarly, although SPECS' fate illustrates what happens if teachers feel put upon by having to do too much reporting, it is hard to argue that education would proceed best with no reporting at all. On the other hand, teachers cannot get reports to accomplish the same purposes for them that they do for technocrats. The reports of the SLEA SPECS Committee provide an excellent case in point. Despite the committee's painstaking efforts to gather valid survey data and to distribute their findings to every teacher and board member, their completed report "just sat there." By contrast, the final report submitted to the school district by the SPECS project director, which was based largely on personal impressions and political expediency and blatantly ignored the teacher report, had sufficient impact that it went unchallenged for three months and was never unseated as the official summary of SPECS in South Lane. The only formal criticism of the project director's report was provided at a board meeting by a spokesman for the SPECS Committee:

> We have tried to find the basis for the developer's report—that people seem happy and contented—and we're of the opinion that he did not contact many people.

Meanwhile, the teachers' report produced no stir at all. When the teachers decided to make their report public, they were steeled for the possibility that their research procedures and questionnaire data would be discredited rather than examined. It was the developer who prevented this by writing a letter applauding their efforts to bring problems into the open. Ironically, ultimate validation of the teachers' report had to come not from their own careful efforts but from approval proffered by one of their primary technocratic antagonists.

In the final days of the project, long after the hulabaloo in Cottage Grove had subsided, it was the reporting function that still had to be satisfied. A staff of people who had played no part in the creation of the original materials or the writing of the original project proposal dutifully prepared reports for project officers and possibly other readers (who knew?) who had probably never heard of Cottage Grove. Even the project's epitaph had to be symbolically carved in triplicate.

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*Occasionally teachers must weather the accusation that it is they who have forgotten about the students, as shown by this comment reported in a study made elsewhere:

> Now they [teachers] want and get five periods, planning time, meetings, everything, but they don't pay any attention to the kids (Cusick 1973:23).

It is hard to imagine how teachers meeting five classes a day can be accused of not paying attention to students, but it is true that teachers expect their students to be amenable to instruction and that teacher concerns for "kids" are most often restricted to classroom concerns. This is why I suggest that young people *as learners*, rather than *as humans*, serve symbolically as the teacher crest.

Rivalry

In examining rivalry, I will look first at an attribute often mentioned in the traditional literature—competition in ceremonies and games. Educators do not think of themselves as engaging in "games." The events of the case study graphically demonstrate just how seriously everyone regarded SPECS. But in the sense of the popular book *Games People Play* (Berne 1964) or Maccoby's treatise on *The Gamesman* as an interactive style (Maccoby 1976), the world of school people can readily be analyzed from the perspective of "Games Educators Play." The underlying sense of competition in South Lane was reflected partially by the superintendent's references to the SLEA as "the union." And if South Lane's teachers saw no "game" in the grim struggle over SPECS, they still frequently used win/lose terminology in describing their success as players who could occasionally "come out OK," "hold things in check," or even "win a round."

Anthropological literature suggests that even among weakly formed moieties, competition may lead almost to bloodshed (Lowie 1948:241). It seems to me that occasional concerns voiced by the teachers most actively opposed to SPECS—that the superintendent might "do them in" by not renewing their contracts — provided a contemporary occupational equivalent. Similarly, the practice of "hurling derogatory remarks" in primitive societies is sometimes paralleled by disputes between teachers and technocrats over sensitive topics like negotiations, strike threats, or mandated changes in instructional procedures. Collective negotiations might well be likened to an annual tug-of-war for which the moieties provide ready-made teams.

From a functional perspective, rivalry means that ongoing differences between moieties are maximized or made public in some activities or arenas but not in all. Viewed this way, SPECS might be regarded as an essential element in a continuing rivalry (i.e., "If it wasn't SPECS, it would have been something else"), rather than as a disruption of an otherwise peaceful scene. Rivalry has to take some form; divisiveness cannot be nurtured to the point that every act or utterance becomes a major issue. A teacher representative from outside the district expressed the problem in comments made to members of the SLEA: "There are so many holes in the dam, so few fingers."

In another time or place, SPECS might simply have been dismissed as a nuisance without precipitating a major controversy. Left to run its natural course in each of the South Lane schools, it might have caught on in some and quickly faded away in others. But SPECS did have some features conducive to making it a *cause cèlebré*. Three such features spring to mind.

First, SPECS had the fatal flaw of imposing on teacher time without providing what most teachers felt to be a commensurate payoff. What little did eventually remain of SPECS in the later years were those features that teachers had found useful initially or had been able to adapt to their advantage. Second, SPECS was regarded by an influential nucleus of teachers as the harbinger of how things might be if the accountability movement were to continue unchecked. Thus SPECS was taken not simply at face value, but as an omen of a most unwelcome shift in educational policy. Third, the manner of SPECS implementation reminded teachers of the ever present threat posed by the overextension and abuse of administrative authority.

The superintendent was by no means unaware of the sensitivity of the authority relationship. He once described to me an instance when a board member, expressing to a teacher his enthusiasm about the way that SPECS would provide definitive evidence on teaching performance, had commented, "Now we've got 'em." As the superintendent noted, "Just one comment like that can be enough to cause trouble for years. That remark certainly took a long time to wear down." Still, it was the superintendent's own aloofness and seeming lack of concern for the classroom that contributed the most to what he referred to as the communication breakdown, and teachers interpreted his determination to implement SPECS as a manifestation of the broader issue illustrated in an earlier quote:

> The superintendent doesn't speak our language any more. He's dealing at higher echelons so much his mind is completely away from the classroom teacher. It's too bad in a district of this size.

SPECS proved to be a superb vehicle for maximizing and publicly demonstrating differences between educator moieties. Over a period of several years in South Lane, SPECS literally became a synonym for rivalry. The depth of the commitment shared among the technocrats and the resources they could muster on SPECS' behalf inspired the challengers; the depth of teacher antagonism toward SPECS and the nature of its implementation increased the determination of the defenders.

The conflict over SPECS had a unifying influence within each moiety, particularly among the teachers. Speaking about the unifying effect of the whole episode, one teacher expressed a view held by many:

> We've come closer to a common voice through this SPECS thing. If we can survive this, I think that teachers will start speaking out.

The technocrats did not appear to achieve a comparable unanimity. This may have been due partly to the diversity of such technocratic roles as developers, researchers, and administrators, and partly due to geographical and organizational separation of the different subunits within the technocrat moiety. When the going got tough, however, it was apparent that technocrats expected their colleagues either to exhibit a semblance of unanimity or at least to keep out of the way. When a central office administrator exclaims to a member of the R & D organization, "I wish you people at CASEA would leave us alone," it is clearly a case of the latter. Similarly, following a SPECS episode that left the administration in an awkward position, the third SPECS project director reported that his subsequent visit to the superintendent was "like walking into a buzz saw," apt terminology in timber country. The two CASEA researchers involved with the incident of the administratively sensitive items included in the teacher questionnaire caught the wrath of the central office and noted later, "There's no question they would not have come on as hard with teachers as they did with us."

Rivalry can invite excess. Does rivalry in general, or did the rivalry surrounding the SPECS case, work for the advantage of the system or for its destruction? Looking at Radcliffe-Brown's notion of "integration through opposition" (cf. chapter 6), the question that arises is whether integration or opposition is dominant among educators. My opinion is that views within educator subculture of how to handle conflict may be broadly described by a traditional view contrasted with a newer, emerging view.

The traditional educator view is that conflict should be minimized. Friendly rivalry (cf. Mair 1965:58) is the watchword for this view; everyone seeks to minimize differences and maximize points of agreement. This stance is probably characteristic of teacher-oriented individuals who assume roles among technocrats; at least in South Lane such individuals tended to be peacemakers. The responses of two administrators to the SPECS Committee's survey on whether to go before the school board illustrate the point. Both individuals added signed comments to the questionnaire form urging committee members to talk directly with the superintendent rather than take the more extreme step of going to the board with their complaints.

If it is quite apparent why this tack would be attractive to administrators caught in the middle, I must point out that conflict resolution is a long-standing tradition in education generally. Even at the height of hard feelings in South Lane, there were only the barest hints of concern that anyone's professional career might be in jeopardy as a result of activities in the SPECS controversy. The developer amply illustrated the attitude toward conflict resolution in an open letter he wrote to the teachers and school board at the time of their first public confrontation over SPECS early in Year Four:

> I sincerely hope that the next few months of activity in the district . . . will be marked by a spirit of compromise and cooperation rather than open conflict. . . . Good luck in your efforts to resolve your apparent differences and do the most good for kids.

The alternate view that seems to be emerging among educators is that opposition and conflict are normal, inevitable, and potentially constructive. Proponents of this view agree that conflict needs to be contained, but they do not attempt to resolve it and are skeptical of efforts to do so. A longtime teacher reported his impression of the growing distance between school board members and teachers: "They won't give you the time of day without thinking there is some ulterior motive." He saw a basic struggle already underway between administrators and teachers:

> Administrators feel that with the new teacher militancy, if teachers had their say they would take over. There would be nothing for administrators to do except order pencils. They want to have a say about education too.

This new ethos of opposition is most closely associated with teacher militancy, but I believe it is receiving support from a host of interests and for a host of reasons. Collective bargaining has introduced rigid procedures that have tended to isolate teachers; identifying their professional association as a "union" further separates teachers from the "management team."

A revealing insight into this trend was offered by a South Lane school board member after he attended a statewide conference for newly elected board members. His reaction to the training session was one of surprise that school boards had become so political. "It seemed like their biggest concern is between the certified personnel [i.e., teachers] and the school board," he commented. "It seems like a clash—like a big concern with power."

If open rivalry becomes the norm in education, future fieldworkers in the schools may not have to look very hard to find evidence of moieties in the social organization of educators.

Chapter 9

Educator Moieties: Reciprocity

> Unhappy staff members aren't going to put forth that extra effort to do a good job. They get the feeling that "the system has beaten me down, just because the superintendent is on the way up."
>
> —Staff Interview, Year Three

THE TOPIC OF RECIPROCITY, like the broader subject of exchange, appears frequently in the social science literature and, like exchange, has often been given a central role in the analysis of human interaction. As noted in chapter 6, anthropologist E. A. Hoebel goes so far as to claim that "reciprocity is the basis of all social relationships, for there can be no social relations without interaction" (Hoebel 1972:449). This chapter introduces the concept of reciprocity, a central concept for understanding moiety interaction, and examines how reciprocity operates in the educator subculture. As Hoebel has noted, the moiety form of organization provides a particularly effective way for institutionalizing reciprocity.

The idea of using the concept of reciprocity for examining the SPECS case is solidly grounded in the literature on traditional moieties. In addition, reciprocity provides the kind of analytical perspective I have been seeking; the concept begs a different approach to viewing a set of events like the SPECS implementation. More importantly, the examination of reciprocity helps explain how the educator subculture accommodates two different ideational subsystems through its structural organization and interactive processes.

It is not difficult to guess why reciprocity and exchange theory, despite their importance in social anthropology, have received so little attention in the study of formal education. For although an examination of reciprocity provides a critical breakthrough in understanding the immediate problems of the SPECS implementation—as well as for understanding moiety interaction more generally—the predominant form of reciprocity among educators is interaction that appears anything but reciprocal. The striking thing about the reciprocity between teachers and technocrats in the SPECS case is the predominance of evidence of what members of each moiety did *to* members of the other moiety rather than what they did *for* them. Throughout this chapter, I will be describing a wide range of strategies that members of each moiety employed for coping with the other, in this sense of "doing to" rather than "doing for."

It occurs to me that the concept of reciprocity may be little used in educational analysis because educator reciprocity has tended increasingly to exhibit a negative interactive style. Reciprocity is not perceived essentially as a creative force for the mutual benefit of both moieties, but rather as a confrontation between two opposite groups concerned primarily with protecting their own interests. Educator moieties display cynical, cautious, constricted behavior vis-a-vis each other. Similar examples of this phenomenon, which sociologist Alvin Gouldner has called "negative reciprocity" (Gouldner 1960), abound in the ethnographic literature. In fact, it is tempting to note some similarities between the best of qualities exhibited in the negative reciprocity of, say, a successful Plains Indians' horse raid —chicanery, cunning, guile, stealth (Sahlins 1965:148, 149)—and the worst of accusations or suspicions in negative reciprocity between educator moieties.

That members of each educator moiety have developed a large repertoire for interacting with their counterparts might seem commendable until one realizes how much energy is regularly drawn away from more creative endeavors. It appears that one form of reciprocity—rivalry—has become the dominant mode of moiety interaction. A question for the reader to keep in mind while examining the material that follows is whether reciprocity as it operated in South Lane (and as it operates generally within educator subculture) was expressed through a too-constricted set of behaviors. There is admirable finesse in a well-conducted horse raid, but I am not convinced that educator moieties must maximize their own effectiveness only at the expense of each other. The SPECS implementation, in pushing people to their limits, amply demonstrated how counter-productive, petty, and unhappy educators can become. The reader may wish to consider this problem of "counter-productive rivalry" while looking at reciprocity as an analytical framework.

Balance and Imbalance in Reciprocity

Of the 11 characteristics of moieties described in chapter 6, only 3 have yet to be examined in the educator setting—asymmetry, the exchange of goods and services, and associated marriage rules. As already noted, marriage rules are frequently but not invariably associated with moieties. The exchange of marriage partners provides an excellent example of reciprocity in many societies, but marriage rules and customs are not part of the educator moiety system. However, a bit more remains to be said about asymmetry and exchange.

Anthropological attention to reciprocity has grown out of attention to the exchange of goods and services in preliterate and "simple" societies, in which transactions and their corresponding meanings are more amenable to direct observation than are the complex events in the economic flow of modern industrial societies (cf. Sahlins 1965). In examining the principle of exchange among educator moieties, I will be looking almost exclusively at the intangibles of social relations rather than the distribution of material goods or the "more or less strict equivalences" that characterize market exchange. I will even skirt the eternal educator preoccupation with salary, except to note that technocrats, being closer to the sources of distribution, have been successful in capturing a larger per-capita share of available resources in their salaries, and teachers apparently are satisfied that this should be so. (Only in the case of the salary for the position of SPECS coordinator do I recall teachers suggesting that the district might have been better off with "one and a half more teachers instead.")

Of course, teachers and technocrats alike have ways to keep members of the other group in line (a process I will discuss later in this chapter), but the means at hand are singularly noneconomic. The only economic sanction applied in South Lane during the case study was the withholding of teachers' final salary checks until SPECS documents were completed, and that was mainly a delaying tactic. In discussing reciprocity among educators, I will be looking essentially at exchanges in which such qualities as goodwill, trust, and mutual respect are returned in kind.

Viewed in terms of reciprocity, the moiety characteristic of asymmetry takes on increased significance because of the dynamic nature of exchange. The question of whether symmetry or asymmetry is the overarching concept, however, appears to be moot. I am inclined to view symmetry and asymmetry as two sides of the same coin, rather than worry over arguments that may reflect nothing more than personal preferences for imbalance (the position held by Lévi-Strauss), balance (cf. Gouldner 1960), or imbalances that balance out in the end (cf. Lebra 1975; Ortiz 1969).

Following Sahlins (1965, 1968) and Service (1966), I find it instructive to think of reciprocity as a continuum that includes balanced as well as imbalanced (i.e., one-sided) forms of exchange. Sahlins and Service describe reciprocity in terms of a continuum with three distinguishable forms. The "pure gift" epitomizes one end of the continuum; this type is referred to as generalized or "weak" reciprocity. Weak reciprocity can be illustrated by food-sharing among loved ones, a form of exchange in which there may be only the vaguest obligation to reciprocate. Other forms of weak reciprocity are evident in such common occurrences among one's close kin as sharing, mutual aid, hospitality, generosity, or any number of similar activities in which "the expectation of reciprocity is left indefinite, unspecified as to time, quantity, and quality" (Sahlins 1968:

82). At the midpoint of the continuum is "balanced reciprocity," in which the customary equivalent of the thing received is returned without delay. The other end of the continuum—what Sahlins has described as the "unsociable extreme"—is negative reciprocity, the attempt "to get something for nothing with impunity." In Sahlin's phrase:

> Negative reciprocity is the most impersonal sort of exchange. In guises such as "barter" it is from our own point of view the "most economic." The participants confront each other as opposed interests, each looking to maximize utility at the other's expense (Sahlins 1965:148).

The nature of the reciprocal interaction between educator moieties during the height of the SPECS confrontation seems appropriately characterized as negative reciprocity. If the open give-and-take of balanced reciprocity seems a more desirable alternative, I must point out that such balance would not necessarily produce symmetry between the moieties. Gouldner has championed symmetry as the effective counterforce against uninhibited exploitation resulting from unequal distribution of power (cf. Gouldner 1960:164), but others have questioned whether there is justification for overromanticizing balanced reciprocity.

In my analysis, I look to reciprocity not as an end in itself, but as a way to understand an ongoing process. The label itself is not critical; its explanatory power is what counts. It is important to recognize that reciprocity implies no optimum degree of give and take; it may better be regarded as a tendency to involve two opposite strains in a sort of "alternating disequilibrium," now appearing to move toward equivalence, balance, or symmetry, now moving toward imbalance or asymmetry (cf. Lebra 1975:557). If that model seems too dynamic to be helpful, it may nonetheless be sufficiently dynamic to describe the case. For we are caught between balanced reciprocity, which is liable to become unable to tolerate a one-way flow (Sahlins 1965:148), and the fact that reciprocal relationships at any given moment are "likely to be asymmetrical in that one party is indebted, obligated, humiliated, exploited, or subordinated" (Lebra 1975:557). Achieving what might at first appear to be the epitome of balanced reciprocity—the rendering of an exact and full payment—is as likely to terminate a reciprocal relationship as it is to perpetuate it. The idea of making final payment with the intent of terminating a relationship was nicely illustrated late in Year Five when the superintendent announced that the district had just performed its last "striptease" to entertain others with the errors made in implementing SPECS in South Lane:

> That's our last payment on efforts CASEA made down here. I'm tired of our being examined. People have used us as guinea pigs and it's hurt us. THAT ENDS OUR COMMITMENT.

The fact is that everyday working relationships between moieties—as between any continually interacting groups or individuals—tend to be asymmetrical. Although members of both educator moieties are concerned with authority, teachers direct their authority outside the educator subculture toward their students, while the authority of technocrats is directed within the subculture, toward members of the opposite moiety. There need be no conflict between reciprocity and subordination, for, as Lévi-Strauss has written:

> It is well to remember that the moiety system can express, not only mechanisms of reciprocity, but also relations of subordination. But even in these relations of subordination, the principle of reciprocity is at work; for the subordination itself is reciprocal: the priority which is gained by one moiety on one level is lost to the opposite moiety on the other (Lévi-Strauss 1944:267-8).*

Technocrats take charge; teachers let them. Teachers expect some display of administrative authority. They can be as annoyed by too little authority as by too much. They feel they have enough responsibility in monitoring their instructional programs and their students, and they do not ordinarily worry about what their administrators are doing. If it comes to their attention that something is awry, however, teachers have many eyes for watching, many mouths to spread the word, and many ears to heed the message that signals a warning within either moiety, "THEY'RE at it again."

The great problem for teachers is that they are not of one mind. Changes, orders, directives, or requests do not affect them all the same way. Except for developments that directly threaten their classroom efforts, they are rather inattentive to what goes on about them. It is their prerogative to question, but they usually fail to do so unless prompted by the minority of teachers who take responsibility for bird-dogging the technocrats. If a new procedure is questioned at all, the question that will be asked is, "Who are you doing this for?"

Over the course of the SPECS implementation, a growing number of teachers came to feel that SPECS had little or no value to them—or too little value to warrant the time it took. But other teachers who resisted it on principle nonetheless found it of some use in organizing their instructional program, and a few found that it helped them structure their teaching more than ever before. The implementation also called for the creation of new ranks within the educator hierarchy. Some teachers found those positions instrumentally or inherently rewarding. Each teacher retained the right to interpret why SPECS had been introduced, how it was proceeding, and who was benefiting from it. Based on that personal interpretation, each teacher could develop a personal strategy for coping with the issue and could decide just how involved to become with it. There could be no single, unified response from so many teachers who had so many different interpretations of what was happening. Negative reciprocity can only be viewed as the sum total of thousands of individual exchanges played out during the SPECS years, between what Sahlins describes as "opposed interests, each looking to maximize utility at the other's expense."

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* Commenting on this passage, Ortiz notes that to describe reciprocity among the Tewa the statement needs only a slight amendment. The priority which is gained by one moiety on one level *or at one time* is lost to the opposite moiety on the other level *or at another time* (Ortiz 1969:135).

Reciprocating Behaviors: A Teacher Repertoire For Coping with Change

It will quickly become apparent that the teacher behaviors to be discussed here are essentially reactive—they are responses to actions initiated by members of the opposite moiety. This is consistent with the prevailing tradition; teachers prefer to be left alone to carry out their classroom tasks. New procedures introduced in the educator subculture are invariably imposed *on* teachers rather than *by* teachers. Not surprisingly, the prevailing mode of behavior among technocrats is to initiate changes. To draw an analogy from the art of fencing, technocrats thrust and teachers parry; the chapters of Part I were organized in the sequence of challenge and response. For analytical purposes it matters little which moiety is discussed first, but since teacher behaviors have heretofore received less attention, I will begin with them. Figure 9-1 graphically illustrates the repertoire of teacher behaviors for coping with change.

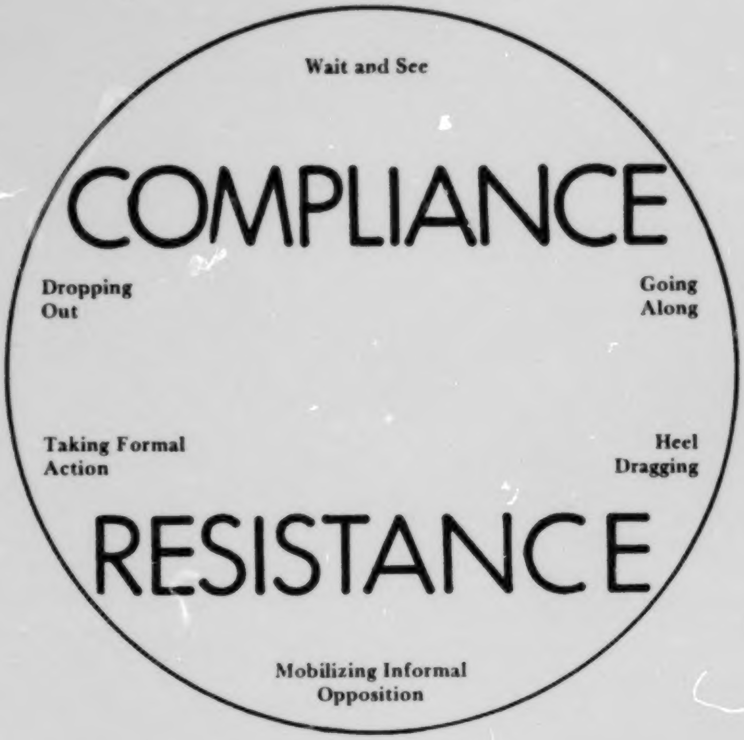
I must rely especially heavily in this section on people's words rather than on observable behavior. No teacher ever volunteered a specific list of behaviors like the one I am about to propose. I recall only one occasion when teachers attempted to enumerate the various behaviors that they had employed in "putting the brakes on SPECS," and that enumeration seemed to serve more as a boost to morale than an inventory of resources.

Individual decisions were constrained by individual perceptions of the extent to which resistance was worth the risk and/or effort it might entail. At the height of the controversy, some teachers were reported by others (interestingly, no one ever made such a confession on his own behalf) to be "scared shitless." At the same time, other teachers displayed outspoken courage and apparent disregard for the possibility of personal repercussions. I am not able to sort out the full extent of the human equation for any actor in the SPECS saga. Fortunately, as Clifford Geertz notes, "it is not necessary to know everything in order to understand something" (Geertz 1973:20).

The basic teacher responses, stripped of important subtleties that seem to belie the binary nature of decisions, are either to comply with some new proposal or to resist it. Thus I have located all behaviors in the teacher repertoire in one of two major categories, *compliance* and *resistance*. Compliance is further divided into two subcategories. At the more active end, compliance is "going along." At the more passive end, compliance is "dropping out" without making any attempt to change the system.

Figure 9-1

Schematic Representation of the Teacher Repertoire of Behaviors for Coping with Change



Forms of Teacher Compliance: Going Along

For all the anguish about SPECS in the South Lane schools, it is important to remember that relationships in some other districts throughout the United States in the early and mid-seventies (particularly those in which attempts at collective negotiation or court-ordered desegregation had broken down) were of such magnitude as to make teacher disenchantment with SPECS look like a tempest in a teapot.* Even more important is the fact that except in the most strife-torn school districts, teachers and technocrats customarily hold sufficient regard for each other and a sufficiently strong sense of shared purpose to insure that most requests are reasonable and are complied with reasonably well. Teachers do not really believe that every request made of them will be a direct aid to instruction, but when things are going well there is at least a tacit assumption of goodwill: "You know I wouldn't ask you to do this if I didn't think it was important." The prevailing mode for teachers is to go along.

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* During Year Six the teachers of South Lane district were on the verge of striking, and strike votes were called in larger districts immediately to the north and south. Across the country long and bitter strikes were reported in settings ranging from other "blue-collar towns" (e.g., South Point, Ohio) to major cities like Pittsburgh, Boston, Chicago, and New York (cf. "Classroom Crisis," *Wall*

Enthusiastic acceptance is the cheery side of going along. SPECS prompted enthusiastic acceptance from at least a few teachers who openly endorsed the program or gave their full support to the implementation effort. One enthusiastic teacher felt that SPECS clearly warranted continuing support:

> I probably am the most enthusiastic person in the district. But I'm not an "administrator lover." I don't see this as the superintendent's baby and I'm not doing this for him. I do it because it helps me help the kids with their skills.

On another occasion when the same teacher volunteered a glowing account of how SPECS was helping, one of the developers turned to me and said, "Did you get that enthusiastic endorsement, Harry?" Most such comments were on the order of this brief excerpt:

> All the kids in my class this year can do their "facts" [multiplication tables] and I think it is because last year their teachers knew what they were trying to accomplish and did so. This year I could get started right away. I have been able to reach an objective in math that I've never reached before—although there are always a few who don't get it.

It was that teacher's opinion, shared by others, that "the good things outweigh the bad." Enthusiasm was also nurtured by the feeling that South Lane was pioneering in the state's move toward educational accountability, and that the district was "so far ahead" of others that some sort of payoff was imminent. Another widely recognized benefit was that SPECS had "brought teachers closer together," although some teachers argued that it was the effort necessary to combat SPECS, rather than their collective efforts at planning, that had really unified them.

Routine acceptance is exemplified by those teachers who elected to go along with the SPECS implementation without becoming protagonists for it. The superintendent admirably summed up this position by comparing teacher acceptance of SPECS with a television commercial for a widely known mouthwash: "I don't like it, but I use it." It was my impression that for the most part teachers did try to comply with the SPECS directives and procedures as they understood them, especially in the early

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Street Journal, February 23, 1976). During Year Seven, South Lane received nationwide attention when repeated failure to pass the annual school budget forced a school closure of several weeks' duration.

days of the implementation. The natural teacher tendency toward compliance is nicely illustrated in the closing exchange between a high school teacher and an interviewer from the state department of education:

> *Teacher*: If the district wants to ask me to do something, I'll try to do it, even if I don't think it helps me very much.
>
> *State Department Interviewer*: Well, thanks very much for coming in.
>
> *Teacher*: That's OK. Anyway, I didn't have any choice. I got a note in my school mailbox that said to be here.

The compliant attitude rankled some individuals who felt that there were far too many teachers who "do anything you tell them."

> They've put it on the line to me. I've tried to get these things done as honestly as I can, but I'm not just filling in paper like a lot of people. There are a lot of teachers who do anything you tell them. They'd stand on their heads all day if they were told to.

On the other hand, some teachers were dismayed at the seeming lack of regard for legitimate authority expressed by their colleagues. Among the returns on the first teacher questionnaire distributed by the SPECS Committee was a note that read: "When I came to the district I accepted the authority of the superintendent and school board. Please don't take up more of my time with activities like this."

Some teachers took the "philosophical" position that "if it wasn't SPECS it would be something else." Such a position seems ideally suited for a system in which one moiety is expected to make changes and the other is expected to accept them. The following excerpt illustrates this attitude:

> We went into this as a pilot program and we accepted it as it came. I think our school has been one of the most accepting. Our principal works us hard, and he is enthusiastic. He's been firm in his insistence that we do it. He's constantly got things going, getting the kids and the staff involved. A lot of this is purely public relations. He's really PR-oriented. If it wasn't SPECS, it would be something else.

Another variation on the philosophical approach was voiced by teachers who felt that although the program was of no particular consequence to them, it seemed desirable because it might improve the performance of their colleagues. That position is evident in comments like these:

> Some people just didn't pay attention to all subjects. You know yourself that there are teachers around who aren't doing what they should. I think this has made better teachers at our school!

* * *

> Some teachers who say they like it needed to have a crutch like this because they've never known how to get organized.

* * *

> One reason some teachers have problems with SPECS is that they are lazy.

* * *

> Some of the [older] teachers who had only normal school preparation are lost with SPECS. The forms are difficult, the language confusing. But I'm a recent university graduate, so I've learned about behavioral objectives.

The predominant form of routine acceptance was displayed by those teachers who simply did the minimum required and kept their personal opinions to themselves. The great variation apparent in the amount of outspoken criticism of SPECS from school to school seemed to depend on each principal's attitude toward the program:

> I think you'll find that teachers feel free to speak against it if the principals don't like it, but if the principal likes it, they'll either be for it or keep quiet.

The phrase "going through the motions" was often used to describe routine acceptance, as in this assessment by one principal:

> At this school people almost mechanically have gone through the motions, but the majority will tell you it doesn't do any good for their classrooms. They aren't really convinced that this will help in their instructional program.

One enthusiastic teacher felt that many of his colleagues were getting too little out of the program because they put too little into it:

> There's another type of negative teacher—the people who don't like it but who just quietly do the minimum. It's like any program—you get out of it what you put in.

Antagonistic acceptance is a variation distinguished from routine acceptance largely as a matter of degree. This attitude is exemplified by the patient who complains loudly but in the end must swallow the bitter medicine nonetheless. Antagonistic acceptance might actually be regarded as an interim position between compliance and one of the alternative behaviors that I will describe next. Antagonistic acceptance was nicely illustrated by the teacher who reported:

> I enjoy teaching in Cottage Grove and like the kids and my subject, so I play along. But I hate DEPS-SPECS with a passion.

Teachers like this who simply go through the motions can, advertently or inadvertently, undermine an innovation. As South Lane's first SPECS coordinator had aptly observed, "People can kill a program by just keeping quiet."

Innovative acceptance refers to behaviors that intentionally or unintentionally alter the innovation so that what the teacher accepts is different from what the innovator intended. An elementary school teacher in South Lane provided a classic example of reinterpreting new materials to fit an existing program. In the course of explaining her SPECS program to me, she produced her copy of what she called simply "the orange book"—the SPECS class record book. Two columns printed on the page she showed me were labeled "GO" and "PO." The teacher said she did not know what those initials meant but quickly added that it did not really matter, because she had devised her own marking system:

> If I mark in the left hand column, it means I need to reteach that pupil the particular skill. If I mark in the right column, it means "Proceed."

Another teacher hinted that apparent changes as a result of SPECS were only cosmetic, and that the basic instructional program remained unchanged:

> We've really not changed our reading much. We only changed the forms. We're still doing what we've always done.

Forms of Teacher Compliance: Wait-and-See

The wait-and-see approach is the epitome of uncommitedness. I have identified it as a type of compliance because it is far too passive to be an effective counterforce.* Whether the wait-and-see attitude eventuates in decisions to go along, to drop out, or to resist often determines the course of collective teacher efforts—teacher activists pray for the support of the inevitable group of "undecideds."

In spite of the tentativeness that its name seems to suggest, wait-and-see behavior is, I think, part of the customary teacher response repertoire. Most South Lane teachers displayed wait-and-see behavior toward SPECS most of the time. Only a small nucleus of teachers spearheaded organized resistance; even fewer gave any indication of enthusiastic acceptance. Nearly everybody was willing to go along to a degree sufficient to keep the program operating, although some teachers also displayed other behaviors in addition to this one.

Forms of Teacher Compliance: Dropping Out

In discussions about formal education, "dropping out" is usually associated with student behavior. However, all human beings drop out through such common behaviors as being inattentive, daydreaming, sleeping, or aggressively pursuing "escapist" activities. One can also drop out of a professional role. SPECS prompted a number of teachers to drop out in a figurative sense; a few teachers also dropped out in a literal sense.

Perhaps most people fantasize about being somewhere and someone else. Teachers do so frequently as they compare their own plight with teachers in other schools, other districts, other states, or other grade levels. Dissatisfaction with SPECS prompted more than the usual amount of talk about taking a position elsewhere. In a moment of desperation one long-time teacher in the district commented, "People now are just keeping quiet and hoping to get out with a good recommendation." Another teacher of long tenure lamented:

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* As Edmund Burke observed scores of years ago, "The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is for good men to do nothing."

> I've become quite discouraged. I just have backed off of some things I'd like to do. I know a lot of teachers feel the same way. I'm actually looking for a new position. Yet maybe I should stay and fight for things, and there are some good things here. The way the DEPS thing has been handled was one thing that led me to look around.

Some teachers mentioned the possibility of leaving teaching altogether as a response to dissatisfaction with SPECS. There is no doubt that a number of South Lane teachers talked of leaving when SPECS was in its heyday there. Whether any teacher actually left because of SPECS, or whether any teacher who did leave during those years would have cited SPECS as a major reason, remains a matter of conjecture. Unconfirmed reports that were relayed to me, such as the teacher who told me, "I've heard of teachers who have left the district because of SPECS, but I don't know a firsthand case," leave room for doubt. In at least one case, a decision to retire was attributed in part to SPECS. A teacher at the same school told me:

> We have a teacher who is retiring this year. She said SPECS helped her make the decision. She didn't know if she could face another year.

By "quietly doing the minimum" many teachers figuratively closed their classroom doors on SPECS; one teacher literally shut it out. Reportedly she became increasingly isolated from her colleagues as she became increasingly frustrated in trying to do what she thought was required of her in the new program. Deadlines for completing new units under the SPECS format became times of personal stress for her. Another teacher explained:

> She's a very traditional teacher. Now she's working on the social studies unit. It's hard for her. She is worrying that she hasn't been able to get everything covered, and she's supposed to have something to show in a week. There's no blow-up or anything—that [classroom] door just stays shut, and we don't see her for days at a time. It isn't animosity, it's just a lot of worry mixed with some personal inflexibility.

At the height of the SPECS problems, such personal feelings were seldom shared with me, and, as an outsider, I assumed that pursuing these leads might well make many teachers uncomfortable without necessarily assuring me of more data. As noted, I tended to go where the action was, and therefore I stayed close to people who were disgruntled and were actively seeking means of collective action. For all there is to say about participant-observation as a research technique, I must admit that it does get a bit dreary when most everyone is "quietly doing the minimum" and would rather not say much about it one way or the other.

Forms of Teacher Resistance: Heel Dragging

I turn now to examining the teacher repertoire of behaviors for offering resistance. The dominant form of teacher resistance displayed during the study was one that teachers referred to as "passive resistance," "heel dragging," or "foot dragging":

> I don't think my principal is trying to build an empire. He just believes that if the district does something, everyone should go along. He once asked me, "Do you want a lot of foot dragging?" And I told him, "You already have it!" But he has said to teachers at our school, "If you don't like it, you better look for another place to work."

* * *

> People at the senior high dragged their heels on SPECS stuff, while the junior high bought the idea and they've gone great guns—but not 100 percent, and, of course, the quality isn't always there.

* * *

> Just drag your heels a little bit and wait. It will all pass.

The nuances of behavior identified to illustrate heel dragging are every bit as subtle as the nuances exhibited in quietly going along with an innovation. Heel dragging, as I understand the metaphor, is a method for slowing things down that entails little overt individual resistance; in fact, dragging one's heels has little effect unless others also drag theirs.

Holding back enthusiasm is surely a mild-mannered form of resistance, but teachers specifically mentioned this as one way they coped with SPECS. After several teachers were invited to talk about their experiences with PPBS in a neighboring district, one of them later reported, "We gave our version of what we did here, of how we held back in enthusiasm and looked out for certain problems."

Dialogue management, at least as described by teachers (in contrast to how they may have actually employed it), includes two alternative strategies—asking everything, and asking nothing. Each alternative serves the same strategy—reducing the impact of a proposed change. On the one hand, teachers can "play dumb" and request detailed explanations calculated to try the patience of the innovators and perhaps force them to reassess the staff's capability for coping with the proposed change. This strategy is not without ego risk, however, since to play dumb is to subject oneself to the accusation of being dumb. Indeed, inuendos that teachers collectively are "a little dense" are not unknown among the private opinions of technocrats.

The alternative form of dialogue management—restricting opportunities for explanation—is more intriguing. One teacher reviewed two popular ways for accomplishing this. The first was simply to refrain from asking any question, thereby providing the SPECS coordinator no opportunity to engage in a significant dialogue. Teachers simply failed to acknowledge the coordinator's presence. The second technique was to assure everyone that all procedures and materials were clearly understood, again with the intent of providing no opportunity for explanation or dialogue.

Mockery, generally in the form of mild ridicule, is a popular form of resistance. It may serve to assess the climate of opinion and readiness for more serious action, while also reducing immediate tensions through humor. Rather expectedly, SPECS was placed in the category of a huge and impractical mistake, and like "Seward's Folly" in Alaskan history, it was sometimes referred to as the "superintendent's folly." SPECS was also referred to frequently as the "superintendent's baby" (at CASEA it was referred to as the "developer's baby"), prompting the comment, "We've got to consider that it might be a bastard."

Creating new acronyms was a popular way of mocking SPECS. The teacher who proposed the title "Curriculum Recycling And Planning" enjoyed success in a pastime that had engaged the creative efforts of many. Alternative meanings were also created for existing acronyms, such as SPECS: Society for the Prevention of Education of Children in School. Similar acronyms and labels were generated and quickly forgotten. (On occasion I was told "Somebody made up a good one the other day—I wish I had written it down for you.")

The superintendent also contributed to the acronym supply. Caught between his determination to tighten up the district's instructional program and deepening teacher resentment toward anything identified with SPECS, he sought new labels to describe SPECS-related procedures. Clearly he was not thinking about acronyms when he made a reference to the system as the "Student Learning-Output Program." Teachers, on the other hand, gleefully called attention to the new acronym and were sorry to see its short life in official notices.

At about the time of the state department investigation, the nation suffered an acute shortage of fuel. Oregon motorists were severely affected. In some schools, procedures were established to allow teachers temporarily to leave during the day to wait in line at gasoline pumps. The shortage itself provoked little mirth, but it occasioned some levity. Two teachers were discussing teacher morale in the district, and one commented, "The school board has noted how teacher turnover has dropped and cited it as an example that teachers in South Lane are satisfied." The second teacher retorted, "They just can't get enough gas to get out of here."

Most teachers could contribute an anecdote or two that made SPECS seem foolish or absurd. Three examples illustrate the practice:

> I was a substitute PPL [Program Planning Leader] for about two months this year. I asked the principal, "What duties am I supposed to perform?" He replied, "That's a good question—they spent two hours at a recent meeting trying to figure it out." Then I went to the SPECS coordinator. He said I was supposed to hold people's hands and answer any questions. So I ended up spending four and one-half hours just trying to find out what a PPL does.

* * *

> I see myself getting more uptight about this as we get into more subjects. Pretty soon we'll be doing it for recess: "How many times did you go down the slide today?"

* * *

> Have you seen that matrix the developers prepared for matching community goals to teacher goals? It's beautiful. If it was in color you could hang it in your living room!

Real and ritual bitching are by no means the exclusive practice of teachers, but teachers certainly do their share. Institutionalized bitching is typically a mixture of the routine complaining that characterizes most groups and of focused dissatisfaction directed toward specific elements. The SPECS implementation in South Lane prompted some specific complaints against the materials and their imposition, but it also became the focus of rather general complaints only remotely associated with SPECS. On a number of occasions technocrats tried to help teachers sort out the two so that specific teacher concerns could be addressed; meanwhile, teachers were convinced that their reactions and complaints fell on deaf ears. Recall from chapter 2 the comment of one teacher: "This is the 900th time we've said all this."

Generalized bitching may be useful as a form of catharsis. Teachers were forever expressing their indignation at the way SPECS had been handled:

> I think it's too bad if there's a program that teachers can't talk about without being afraid of their jobs. As a taxpayer, I resent that the teachers are treated this way. I think this affects other things about their attitudes toward the classroom.

Such opinions, expressed constantly, kept SPECS very much on everyone's mind, but they often detracted from efforts to take action. A significant portion of each meeting of the SPECS Committee was spent reviewing ritual complaints; often the same people aired the same gripes and anecdotes meeting after meeting. When members of the SPECS Committee launched their own series of interviews in the schools, they were often surprised by the small turnouts. Widespread informal bitching had led them to expect a dramatic response. Bitching that seemed real retreated in the face of the opportunity to voice specific complaints, leaving technocrats and teachers to assign their own meanings to the lack of response.

Talking the program down is another category of heel-dragging behavior, a corollary of talking it up. In one form, this behavior is displayed by introducing doubt about motives and purposes. In South Lane, accusations were frequently voiced that the underlying reason for implementing SPECS was because the superintendent was "on the way up," or somebody had a research grant, or someone was working on a doctorate. The faintest of innuendos fed teacher suspicions about who was really benefiting from the implementation. Even teachers who were inclined to go along with SPECS on general principles found difficulty in countering the charge that someone other than teachers had the most to gain.

The ownership of teacher-prepared documents was one of the first suspicion-generating problems to surface. Many teachers expressed concern that their materials would be commandeered by the district or by the developers. One teacher was satisfied that this had not happened; another was certain that it had:

> My own fear was that my material was going to be stolen by people at

> the other end of the program, but we've had it three years and there's no problem that I see.
>
> * * *
>
> A lot of my data sheets were plagiarized by one of the developers. He came out to look at mine and took a lot of stuff from them.

A more direct way to talk a program down is to dwell on its inadequacies. In the SPECS case, this ranged from minor complaints such as the number of spaces provided in the record, to major complaints such as the excessive time spent pretesting, to general complaints about problems like the lack of flexibility. The chapters of Part I provide an ample catalogue of teachers' complaints about SPECS, and I will not review them here. However, I should note the manner in which teachers made rather creative use of SPECS' successes to create an impression of its failures. For example, the relative success of one elementary school in mathematics gave critics the opportunity to complain: "That's the school where they take all the visitors to see how well the program is going." Similarly, success in math was diminished by comparing it to the problems that might have been entailed in implementing SPECS in the humanities:

> You'll never get a social studies or humanities program to work like math. This is why CASEA picked math to use as a sample in the district. We have to work with the affective domain, too.
>
> * * *
>
> You can't really give a pretest to a student who is going to paint a picture.
>
> * * *
>
> I wish CASEA had developed a sample [model] for the humanities as well as for math.

Teachers also watched for—and gleefully shared—indications that PPBS or accountability in general was in disfavor in other districts or states. Articles speaking out against accountability were noted, cited, and sometimes distributed to bolster the local critics of SPECS. Hearsay evidence of districts that did not proceed with tentative adoption plans was often discussed. Two teachers were pleased to note that a university course on management systems taught by one of the SPECS developers had been cancelled. Without questioning the reason for the cancellation, they took it as a clear sign of waning interest in PPBS.

Consciously subverting the program as a form of heel dragging, through such activities as providing false data or claiming to do things they were not in fact doing, proved worrisome to most teachers. I have no information for assessing the prevalence of this behavior except for teacher statements like those that follow. I surmise that teachers found some satisfaction in the realization that they could subvert a program as a way of mitigating its impact. That realization had never escaped the technocrats, either. As one developer noted, "If SPECS is going to be used for teacher evaluation, it's going to die. Teachers will just set up objectives that children can reach." Some teachers wondered about the same behavior on the part of their students:

> How long will it take before kids start to play the game? I know in fifth and sixth grades some teachers say the kids do poorly in the pretest so they will look good in the posttest.
>
> * * *
>
> In some classes at high school the kids have already learned to flunk the pretest.

The following comments exemplify teacher reflections on coping with SPECS by separating it from the reality of their classrooms:

> I'll be honest with you. I can't do all the things I say I'm doing here. I can't get to it.
>
> * * *
>
> There are still teachers falsifying those numbers. They know that it's numbers that are wanted, so that's what they give them.
>
> * * *
>
> I was told by a very high administrator to just make up figures for the summary documents so that I could get my June check. That certainly leaves the validity in doubt.
>
> * * *
>
> Frankly, I've misplaced all my material. If I have to write a report, I'll have to make it all up.
>
> * * *
>
> I did feel very strongly against it in the beginning. Now I feel that what I have done has helped me, but I have not necessarily done what they told me to do. I didn't follow specifically on performance objectives or percentages. I cheated! I put what I thought would look good. I think 75 percent looks good. I put in 80 percent. So did at least one other teacher here.

An alternative form of subversion is to subvert one's teaching activity in order to meet a program's requirements. South Lane teachers occasionally reflected on the absurdity of that option in their discussions of SPECS. And one instance was mentioned in which a teacher may actually have given precedence to SPECS mastery over pupil mastery:

> I've heard of a teacher—it's just a rumor—who doesn't go ahead with a new step until everyone in the class can perform the thing she's teaching. Of course, that's a misinterpretation of the program.

Passive defiance might be likened to making it rather apparent that you are dragging your heels. It corresponds rather closely to the wait-and-see form of compliance discussed earlier in this chapter, but it is wait-and-see behavior that hints at being braced for action. The critical difference between the two lies in the meanings that teachers attach to their behavior, since neither stance requires that they actually do anything. Until it reaches groundswell proportions, resistance of this sort may have little or no impact, and it may subject individual resisters to easy detection. However, [illegible] mild forms of civil disobedience collective resistance is sometimes [illegible]

Teachers described two variations of this overt form of heel dragging. One strategy was to force the issue in some critical way. Since "cost" was a sensitive concern with SPECS, calling attention to the dollar output required in its implementation seemed an obvious means of forcing the issue. Some teachers proposed the idea of showing SPECS to be so expensive that it would have to be dropped. A teacher once remarked to a developer, "Maybe we could just make SPECS so costly that they will have to get rid of it." However, teachers have so little information about school finances that they would have been hard pressed to show that SPECS was too expensive. As noted earlier, no one ever really made more than a wild guess about the true dollar costs of the program. But teachers did see an opportunity to show that SPECS was expensive in terms of accomplishments in the instructional program. I have already discussed how loathe educators are to do anything that appears to detract from the instructional program. Nonetheless, at least one teacher proposed a cutback in the instructional program as a way of countering SPECS:

> There's a feeling of resignation, that this was just ramrodded down our throats. The principals told the PPLs; the PPLs told the teachers. Teachers were never consulted. So their attitude has been: "All right, they want this done, we'll get it done. But we'll do the least possible." Sometimes that means cutting down on the number of test or pretest items. But it also means cutting down on objectives.

Although there was probably little actual tampering with the instructional program, there was an obvious appeal to the possibility that teachers might threaten the educational equivalent of a work slowdown. The alternative strategy was to leave one's instructional program intact and simply fail to comply with the requirements of the new system. Statements such as the following indicate that this strategy also had its proponents:

> I won't write anything unless I think it's valid. And this thing isn't. I'll wait until they call me in.

Forms of Teacher Resistance: Mobilizing Informal Opposition

Teachers are stereotyped as being resistant to new ideas. If that stereotype is overdrawn, it is nonetheless true that teaching practices have remained remarkably stable through the decades. Teachers have never been known to embrace new ideas quickly. However, organized teacher resistance to SPECS did not arise out of an inherent teacher tendency toward recidivism. It arose as a result of the direct efforts of a small nucleus of teacher activists to organize the opposition into a collective force. In the absence of such efforts, the potential opposition to SPECS probably would have been dissipated through idiosyncratic personal behaviors such as shutting the door, retiring, looking elsewhere, or simply waiting to be "called on the carpet" one at a time. The ingredients necessary to transform opposition into resistance included an issue around which collective opposition could coalesce and a group of individuals willing to expend the necessary energy to establish some formal organizational machinery.

In South Lane, I heard teachers and technocrats occasionally refer to this combination of process and people as "the underground." That term was somewhat of a misnomer, since those teachers who most assuredly would have been named as members of the so-called underground did not use that term, and they intended neither to constitute a closed group nor to work clandestinely. A teacher who happened in on a meeting of the SPECS Committee excused herself with the comment, "I'm not staying. I'm not part of the underground." My feelings are that she—and virtually any teacher—would have been welcome at the meeting, and that the SPECS Committee was anything but an underground.

The SPECS Committee probably could not have achieved its mission without the influence and energy of the small group of teachers who initially helped channel the antagonism extant in the district so that it could be addressed by a formal committee. Nonetheless, offhand references to the underground bothered those at whom the label was directed. They regarded themselves not as conspirators but as guardians, "a small nucleus, a core who have stuck it out through thick and thin." They anguished over the realization that their concern for the district (i.e., its teachers and its "kids") was perceived by some as a negative force; their intent was to provide a positive influence and a necessary check on the negative influence of others.

I have identified three subcategories of behavior for mobilizing informal opposition. The first strategy is to *applaud and advertise* all efforts already being made to prevent the innovation from unnecessarily upsetting current practice. In South Lane, this sometimes meant rekindling the fires of discontent or "getting the steam up" when enthusiasm seemed to be waning. It entailed reassuring fellow teachers that discontent was not limited only to a few classrooms or to one school and reminding them that ways could be found to cope with the problems collectively. In this sense the SPECS Committee worked in a true spirit of collegiality; its members described their task as making sure that everyone had adequate information about SPECS and about alternative teacher strategies for confronting it. The committee made no attempt to assess or to prescribe *the* position of all teachers.

A second strategy for mobilizing resistance was to *caucus over possible strategies of formal action.* At almost any moment teachers are faced with multifarious issues of *potential* professional concern. They cannot take issue with every possible threat to their work or their image; critical issues must be sorted from tangential ones, and real issues must be distinguished from ritual ones. Those who step forward to carry the banners recognize that the extent to which teachers will support the actions recommended by a representative group needs to be assessed. Because SPECS was recognized as the "superintendent's baby," teachers contemplating active resistance wanted to be certain that the SPECS Committee had sufficient support from the teacher association to risk dealing with a touchy subject. One teacher stated her relative sense of security in that regard:

> Some people have suggested that the people on this committee are in jeopardy because they're investigating on sacred ground. But I told them I was on the second year of a three-year contract, so I wasn't worried.*

A third alternative is to *inventory and review the more drastic procedures teachers might take collectively.* Teachers referred to such procedures as "heavy-handed," and in the SPECS case (and probably in most cases) seemed reluctant even to discuss them in much detail. At the same time, such review provided a useful framework for discussing more moderate courses of action. An often-mentioned possibility was to "sandbag the superintendent" by "going public." That is, teachers might build support for their case among noneducators by going directly to the school board, by going to the press, or by contacting friends, neighbors, and "sympathetic parents" of present and former students. Eventually the first two approaches were used in the SPECS case. (Since board meetings were covered by the news media, it would have been impossible to separate these steps.)

In general, I believe that teachers are reluctant to air their professional concerns before parents. An issue like SPECS was assumed to be of little concern or interest to parents. Further, teachers were unsure about parental attitudes toward SPECS. The only well-known aspect of the program among parents was that children were released from school early on a number of afternoons. There was some fear that generating parent opposition to SPECS might also generate opposition to teacher release time for planning.

Forms of Teacher Resistance: Taking Formal Action

Any problem worth its salt among educators deserves a committee or two. The history of SPECS could be told (or parodied) in the history of the committees it spawned and their subsequent memberships, deliberations, and fates. The unusual thing about the SPECS case is the effectiveness with which one committee, formed under the aegis of the teacher organization, operated over a period of 30 months. The fact that it took so long for such a committee to form in the first place probably attests to the reluctance of teachers to get involved with issues beyond their classroom walls. The difficulties involved in forming the committee have already been reviewed.

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* When SPECS was introduced, the three-year contract was the longest that the district issued. Popular lore among teachers who were not reluctant to get embroiled in district politics held that in the first and second years one was quite secure; some teachers talked of keeping a "low profile" during the year their contract came up for renewal. Oregon tenure laws now cover teachers in small districts like South Lane, just as they had covered teachers in large districts in prior years.

Formation of the SLEA SPECS Committee signified a turning point in the history of SPECS in South Lane. Establishing such a committee signaled not only that something was amiss but also that teachers were no longer satisfied simply to drag their heels. Even so, the new committee precipitated no untoward concern from central office personnel. As one individual expressed it:

> I think there are some teachers who are dead-set against this SPECS approach. They have felt they needed to identify others who felt the same way. They've set up a committee to attempt to find out the feelings of the total staff toward SPECS. That's OK as long as they go about it in a professional way. They're entitled to their opinions.

From the start teachers "went about it in a professional way" by working entirely through their formal teachers' organization. Some teachers argued that the committee's efforts were actually hampered by professional expectations that seemed to work against them rather than on their behalf. One committee member complained, "We've tried to work too ethically. We haven't tried to load our questions. We've bent over backwards to get all views."

Working through their formal organization provided teachers with their most powerful means of coping with SPECS, but working through formal channels got them virtually nowhere. The concept of reciprocity suggests an explanation for why this was so. The teachers chose a time when "bending over backwards" was not a very effective way to parry the technocrats' thrust. The time teachers gave for redress was time taken for delay. The gift of their carefully conducted teacher survey to the superintendent prompted no gift in exchange; in fact, it prompted no response at all. But it was also true at that time that the teachers did not seem to know what they wanted in exchange, other than recognition that the problem really existed.

The realization that their confrontation with the superintendent was not going to produce any action came quite slowly to South Lane's teachers. With it came a realization that if they were going to go through channels they would have to go farther than they had. At that point they surged forward by going public. The delay of four months while they waited for the superintendent's response had cost them some of their momentum, but a well-timed survey brought the issue to life again. Breaking through the barrier that had kept the matter within the educator circle and within the school district, the SPECS issue was placed simultaneously before the school board, the news media, and the state department of education.

Formal channels provided still one more alternative for teachers that was mentioned but not used—initiation of formal grievance procedures. SPECS was not the kind of issue one would ordinarily expect to see handled through such procedures, because it was not involved with individual personnel problems. But when other strategies seemed to offer little hope, someone would invariably suggest filing a formal grievance as another way to provoke a response. In the SPECS case, references to such a course of action served mainly to boost morale by reminding all concerned that not every alternative for formal action had been exhausted. The following quotation suggests how the grievance procedure served as a sort of ace-in-the-hole:

> If any of you SPECS Committee members feel the slightest pressure from being on this committee, let us know. We'll hit them with a grievance procedure so fast they'll never know what hit them.

Although this inventory of reciprocating behaviors for teachers is not necessarily complete, I believe it captures the essence of a range of behaviors frequently employed by members of the teacher moiety and is flexible enough to be applicable in widely different settings and circumstances. I would not argue that my labels are the only ones possible or are necessarily the most appropriate, but they do point to major strategies regularly used by teachers everywhere for coping with change.

Reciprocating Behaviors: A Technocrat Repertoire For Imposing Change

In proposing a comparable inventory of the strategies used by technocrats for imposing change, I will focus rather specifically on the SPECS case rather than draw upon the whole history of school management. Despite the hierarchical authority structure in which many technocrats operate, it will become clear that there is a wide range of alternative behaviors from which technocrats select according to position, situation, and personal style.

I have already noted an important element in the reciprocating behaviors of teachers and technocrats—that technocrats tend to initiate interactions to which teachers then react. One can ponder how the interactions might look in a topsy-turvy world in which technocrats had to wait for teachers to initiate interactions. In fact, however, the die is cast: technocrats challenge; teachers respond. Technocrats have assumed the responsibility for instigating change as naturally as teachers have shucked it. The authors of a book entitled *Managing Change in Educational Organizations* present a good description of the technocrat proclivity for introducing change:

> The prevailing climate in education favors innovation over maintaining the status quo. This climate nudges even the most conservative educational administrator, whether he be motivated by job satisfaction, career enhancement, or job security, toward changing any aspect of an institution in order to claim the title "innovator" (Baldridge and Deal 1975:2).

In chapter 7, I contrasted the ideational systems of teachers and technocrats. The repertoire of behaviors identified here amply illustrates the contrasts noted earlier in their differing orientations toward time, authority, and style. Technocrats are future-oriented, ever ready to acknowledge that formal education is not all that it might be and to accept responsibility for improving it. They also accept the formal authority structure and work largely within it, sometimes forgetting that teachers may fail to give that authority system such wholehearted support. Finally, technocrats tend to emphasize order and rational process, an orientation that helps them get things done. However, their accomplishments reflect their orientation to things rather than people and a tendency to focus on short-range successes without paying adequate attention to long-range consequences.

If teachers really felt themselves and/or "kids" to be the beneficiaries of this perpetual innovation, then the nature of the reciprocal interaction might be no more complex than an endless series of well-intended directives and gracious compliances. But ideational differences between the two educator moieties preclude so easy a give-and-take, and technocrats have developed a broad repertoire of behaviors for underwriting their efforts to improve the system. That repertoire ranges from extremes of all-out battle to all-out retreat but more often draws upon a wide variety of alternatives consistent with the evolving traditions of school management and professional ethics.

In the technocrats' view, teachers are noted for their conservatism and resistance to change. In the teachers' view, the constant turmoil of innovation more often benefits the technocrats than the teachers, although it is the teachers who usually bear the burden of innovation. Ernest House summarizes the basic teacher position in his study of large-scale educational innovation:

> The basic fact about a technocratic structure is that the status quo is maintained by constant innovation. Of course, changes must be of a very particular kind, externally invented and propogated by the major technocratic institutions themselves (House 1974:256).

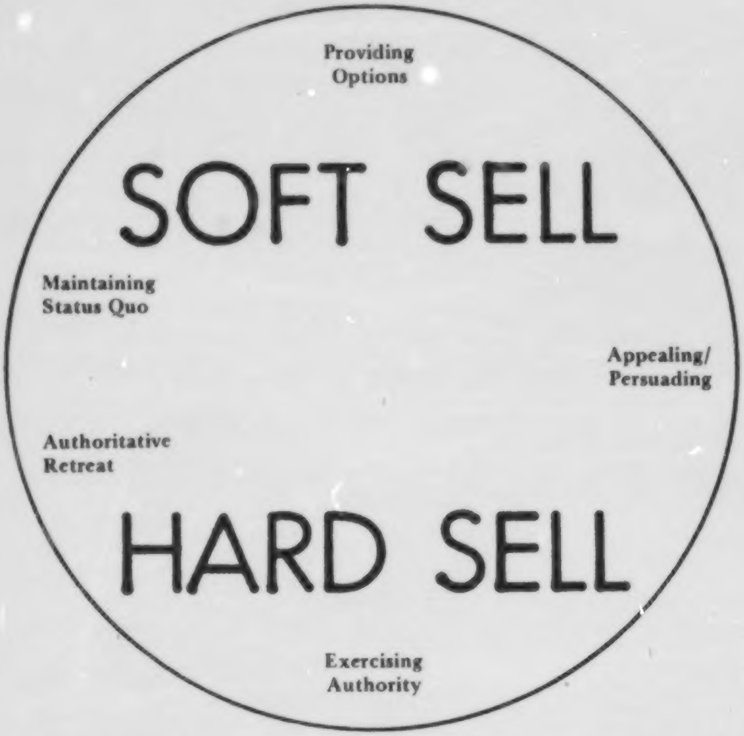
House also calls attention to the problem of unequal benefits—the fact that innovators themselves benefit disproportionately from educational innovations:

> Those who must most forcefully bear the burden of perpetual innovation receive the fewest tangible rewards from the process, while those higher in the vertical division of labor benefit most. Built into the operation of the modern innovation system as a whole is integral inequality of benefits. . . . Those farther up the hierarchy benefit more than those farther down (House 1974:303).

Because of the underlying suspicion with which teachers view their efforts, technocrats need a large repertoire of strategies in order to keep the educational system at once stable and changing. The technocrat behaviors that I identified in the SPECS case fall into five major categories: maintaining the status quo, providing options, appealing or persuading, exercising authority, and authoritative retreat. Schematically the two repertoires might be represented any number of ways. In Figures 9-1 and 9-2 each repertoire has been represented within a circle. I have shown them this way to suggest not only how one behavior blends into the next, but also to suggest that in exercising the full range of the repertoire one might eventually "come full circle." Teachers and technocrats alike have at times been accused of doing just that.

Figure 9-2

A Schematic Representation of the Technocrat Repertoire of Behaviors for Imposing Change



Just as the repertoire of teacher behaviors can be divided into two major contrasting styles, *compliance* and *resistance*, the repertoire of technocrat behaviors can be divided into two contrasting styles, *soft sell* and *hard sell*. In the course of an innovation the duration and magnitude of SPECS, the technocrats displayed a range of behaviors that amply illustrates the extent of their repertoire, although they did not necessarily exhaust every conceivable approach.

The points on the two circles that I have used to represent the two behavior repertoires may be likened to the possible moves for each of two sets of players. Imagine a free-spinning arrow in each circle. By custom, the technocrats begin the game, spinning their arrow to select a style for introducing some element of change. Now it's the teacher's turn, and they select from their repertoire some behavior for coping with the proposed change. The next moves depend on the outcome of the first ones; for example, a soft-sell approach by technocrats may result in compliance by teachers; or heel dragging by teachers may precipitate the exercise of authority by technocrats. The complexity of the game can be increased by increasing the number of players making decisions, by introducing multiple changes, and by imposing time constraints.

The soft-sell techniques used by technocrats during the SPECS implementation may have been overshadowed by more heavy-handed techniques already noted in the narrative, and so I will describe them first. It is important to keep in mind that in response to any of the possible technocrat behaviors, teachers reciprocate by choosing behaviors from their repertoire. Likewise a teacher response (or challenge) may in turn require the technocrats to select a different approach. Satisfactory resolutions of these events are confounded by the fact that the teachers' and technocrats' repertoires are designed to facilitate different ideational systems. Thus even when balance is achieved in the resolution of a particular change effort, there may be misgivings or misunderstandings that can lead to new imbalance.

Forms of Technocratic Soft Sell: Maintaining the Status Quo

Just as there were teachers who kept their opinions of SPECS largely to themselves, so there were technocrats who chose to keep quiet and remain essentially uninvolved. I was surprised that so many CASEA staff members could hold SPECS in low personal esteem and yet continue to meet their basic commitments to the project. There were South Lane administrators, too, who went along with the change but gave the implementation as little time and energy as possible. Among both administrators and R & D personnel, these individuals shared the technocratic commitment to change, but they did not regard SPECS as an important means for producing change. Technocrats within the school district did not enjoy the same degree of professional mobility as CASEA's R & D personnel, who could cast about looking for other projects, but, like teachers, they could hold back their enthusiasm.

For at least one teacher-oriented administrator, retirement provided a convenient escape from the SPECS dilemma. Some younger technocrats, for whom retirement offered no recourse, adopted a grin-and-bear-it attitude. Although these individuals were reluctant to let an issue like SPECS become a major obstacle in their professional careers, their serious attention was directed elsewhere. One administrator noted that his colleagues were willing to complain about SPECS in private but refused to raise the issue in the regular meetings with the superintendent:

> I forced the issue of SPECS among the administrators and I'll be goddamned, none of them said anything. We once had an informal session when we talked for four hours about the problems of SPECS. I felt that people were really drawing back from discussing what they really felt. Yet I was getting feedback from teachers, informally, that all was not well.
>
> So I went to the superintendent and told him, and he said, "Well, you're the only one telling me this. Why aren't the other administrators telling me?" I think they had other designs. Maybe it is because people among the administrators were interested in their own careers.

An alternative strategy, one that seemed especially attractive to teacher-oriented administrators, was to stress the similarity between SPECS and existing practices in the district. Eventually this evolved into a strategy of reinterpretation that will be discussed later. Even from the early days of the pilot study, there were individuals who stressed that SPECS did not really require much departure from what teachers had always done. Toward the end of Year Three, for example, the high school principal offered this observation:

> I don't think we could say that PPBS as we have experienced it here is anything more than another format for scope and sequence.... I can't see the uniqueness of SPECS. We could have done it all with a lot less hassle and furor and hard feeling....
>
> I began to tell my staff that this is nothing more than a procedure for curriculum modification, and not to get too hung up on it. For the past year I haven't said a thing about SPECS. I've talked only about curriculum modification and what we are trying to accomplish here.

Forms of Technocratic Soft Sell: Providing Options

Those technocrats actively engaged with and supportive of SPECS employed a variety of soft-sell behaviors to get teachers to take some modest step toward implementing it. One such approach was to provide teachers with options regarding the speed with which they incorporated SPECS into their instructional programs, the course areas for which they completed SPECS program plans, and the thoroughness with which each unit had to be completed. It was in the extent of providing options that the greatest variation was seen among technocrats; those farthest from the classroom seemed the most permissive. Suggested procedures devised by the developers tended to become preferred procedures when the superintendent described the program to his administrative staff. In turn, when principals met with their faculties, options occasionally disappeared altogether. This sometimes caused problems when teachers described the ultimatums they received to members of the SPECS development team, who did their best to reassure the teachers that they were not under such duress as they believed.

This practice by the developers caused consternation among South Lane administrators who were trying to keep the program moving forward in spite of obviously mounting resistance. At one point South Lane's SPECS coordinator remarked, "The boys at CASEA, God bless 'em, told the teachers that they didn't have to write objectives for the affective domain, so now the teachers aren't writing them at all. And that was the part of the program we wanted to get going this year." For their part, the developers were willing to make almost any concession to try to keep the teachers in a cooperative frame of mind.

Another variation on this form of soft sell was the technocratic practice of having teachers participate in decision-making. An example of this ploy was the superintendent's conditional approval of establishing an SLEA SPECS Committee "as long as they go about it in a professional way." At the outset of the SPECS implementation, South Lane teachers were assured that the district could always "opt out." Although that option proved somewhat hypothetical, it did help to introduce SPECS and surround it with an aura of experimentation. The technocrats also believed that they had provided an adequate feedback system for monitoring teacher complaints by establishing a network of Program Planning Leaders.

A favorite strategy for bringing about change in education is to employ "group process" to let people discover for themselves what somebody else wants them to discover. Since teachers use similar techniques in their classrooms, they are naturally wary of this ploy; however, they are not normally inclined to resist as long as the consequences are acceptable. A South Lane teacher aired this familiar complaint about ritual involvement of teachers in the district's decision-making processes:

> In this district teachers have nothing to say. Decisions are already made. They use committees to get their decisions out.

However, an administrator offered a different view:

> I found with this staff that if anything was thought to be my idea it was rejected.... So I tried sitting down with people and just talking: "Now what do you think would happen if...."

Forms of Technocratic Soft Sell: Appealing or Persuading

A counterforce to the trend toward making a sharp distinction between "the union" and "the management team" in American school districts is the lingering educator ethos known as "democratic leadership." That ethos is discernible in many of the statements the developers made about SPECS. It was epitomized in their effort to contrast bureaucratic and collegial approaches, their preference for the latter providing the very rationale for adapting PPBS to the unique setting of the schools rather than simply adopting it wholesale (cf. chapter 1). Many educational administrators picture themselves as democratic leaders who guide and facilitate teacher decisions and draw upon more authoritarian (i.e., hard-sell) approaches only when necessary. The number of persuasive techniques in the technocrat repertoire is both familiar and extensive. I have identified some of the most distinctive variations, although the list could be greatly expanded.

Collective professional appeal invariably accompanies any proposed innovation, whether that innovation is totally unfamiliar ("We owe it to the profession to give it a fair try") or already fashionable ("I'd hate to think we were going to be among the last to do this"). As Lortie has observed, education is "permeated with the rhetoric of professionalism" (Lortie 1975:10). Professional appeal may either be intrinsic in the innovation itself or a deliberate strategy to induce teachers to try something new. The intrinsic appeal of SPECS was attested to by claims of some teachers that they would continue to use the system even if it were not required. On the other hand, calculated appeals to teachers' professionalism permeated much of the rhetoric surrounding the SPECS implementation.

Practical appeal goes hand in hand with professional appeal but stresses immediate payoffs to the user. To be effective, practical appeal has to be related to saving time or energy or to increasing instructional effectiveness. On this score SPECS performed poorly. About the best that its most stalwart proponents could argue was that it took far less time to recycle programs than to write them the first time. However, there was a certain practical appeal in the argument that since some system like SPECS would soon be required for all schools in the state, the district's teachers might just as well come to grips with the approach before it was required.

Another form of practical appeal (commonly employed by teachers in managing their own classrooms) is to link some goal highly desired by one party in the transaction to another goal highly sought by the other party. In the classroom (and in permissive child rearing) this takes the familiar form, "As soon as you finish what I want you to do, you may do something you want to do." In the SPECS era, teacher "preparation time" (time when students are not present) came increasingly to be identified as "SPECS Planning Time;" teachers who opposed SPECS found themselves arguing against their valued preparation time. This appeal was evident (although in a negative sense) in South Lane when a pro-SPECS school board member formally proposed that "intermediate grade preparation time be retained as long as the SPECS program itself is in effect." Teachers attending the board meeting when this statement was made did not miss the implication:

> *Teacher A*: He slipped that in so neatly I don't think a lot of people caught it.
>
> *Teacher B*: Oh yes they did. There just wasn't anything that could be done about it.

Personalizing the problem is a strategy particularly well suited to a small school district. For example, it was not at all unthinkable that the South Lane SPECS coordinator might actually interact with most teachers on an individual basis. Although the first coordinator was not able to achieve this "personalizing" of SPECS, teachers and technocrats alike held hopes that a more effective coordinator could do so. When the second coordinator was introduced to a group of teachers, they immediately turned to the superintendent and asked: "Will he have the opportunity to get out and talk to teachers in their buildings?" They were assured, "He certainly will." Seven months into his job, with little actually accomplished toward that objective, the new coordinator was still optimistic that the personal approach could make a difference:

> We'll have to start working with all teachers in different ways. We can do more with inservice training. And I can jawbone with teachers, working on an individual basis with those having a problem. I can explain to teachers who don't understand, look over their program summaries or whatever their special problems are. Or find simpler ways for people to do things. Or listen to their gripes.

Providing differential rewards represents a more individualized appeal. As circumstances surrounding SPECS became increasingly tense, the issue of using more positive and rewarding approaches became a point of contention among technocrats themselves. The developers expressed concern about the excessive and negative use of authority and sanctions by South Lane administrators. They suggested that the course of events might have gone more smoothly if rewards had been greater and sanctions fewer. Even pro-SPECS teachers shared that complaint. A junior high teacher said:

> They should provide district credit* or a little appreciation from the district in expecting teachers to develop this. They've gotten an awful lot of work out of an awful lot of people. They ought to be willing to reward for it. It's a great learning experience, but it was an experiment, and we should get some reward. I probably learned more than if I'd just taken a three-unit course somewhere.

An elementary school teacher voiced the same sentiment:

> The teachers in the district know that a pat on the head is better than a kick in the rump. But this program has been administered more like a kick in the rump.

The negative aura surrounding SPECS tended to obscure the presence of a number of positive incentives. These positive rewards included professional recognition and dollar benefits. Both rewards were combined in the creation of the new role of Program Planning Leader. Every school had at least one teacher designated as a PPL, and the junior and senior high schools had one PPL for each instructional division. At first PPLs earned only increased recognition for their efforts, but by Year Three they also earned a pay increment, depending on the number of teachers they supervised. All South Lane teachers also had a chance to earn $20 simply by filling out a CASEA questionnaire at the end of Year Two and Year Three, but only PPLs derived sustained cash benefits through their involvement with SPECS. Even with the salary inducement, however, there was considerable turnover among PPLs; many individuals quickly tired of being in the middle between teachers, who were unhappy with the demands of the program, and administrators, who were dissatisfied with the program's slow progress. Ill will was also engendered at the high school when the move to pay PPLs was accompanied by a policy shift that awarded the title and the salary increment to department chairpersons.

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* Most school districts recognize units accumulated through continuing coursework as well as years of experience for advancing teachers on the salary schedule. Some districts require that teachers return to college every few years to earn units as evidence that they are keeping up in their field. Districts sometimes offer the equivalent of academic units by giving credit for participation in district-sponsored workshops or programs. Teachers frequently expressed the idea that their efforts on behalf of SPECS should have been rewarded by assigning "district credit." The central office position was that a certain minimum involvement in SPECS was required of all teachers and nothing should be done to create the impression of optional participation or of rewarding everyone for curriculum planning that is a customary activity of teachers.

At strong SPECS schools, PPLs were expected to toe the line. A PPL at one such school stressed the importance of having PPLs who "really believe in the program," and stated, "The program has to be supported right down to the immediate supervisor." Some other PPLs felt caught in a crossfire, as the following exchange between PPLs and other teachers reveals:

> I'm a PPL and I don't think the PPLs have been able to set policy. The administration has set policy.
>
> * * *
>
> The PPLs seem to me just a go-between between teachers and the administration. This is the first time I've heard PPLs say they disagreed.
>
> * * *
>
> You have to remember that the PPL is not a creative job. You just do what you're told.
>
> * * *
>
> And the people who are making decisions about it aren't on the firing line.

By Year Four the idea of designating particular teachers to look after curriculum matters had won wide acceptance, but the term PPL was in disfavor because of its association with SPECS. This posed no problem at the high school, where PPLs were also department heads. At the junior high school, a conscious attempt was made to introduce the new term "Curriculum Planner." As the term changed, so did the role. One observer noted how PPLs at the junior high eventually came to be "considered as assistant department chairmen."

There were also roundabout ways for distributing rewards perceived by teachers to be linked with individual attitudes toward SPECS. For example, a small amount of money was set aside by the district to employ a few teachers on "extended contract" for a week or more each summer to work on SPECS-related activities. Not surprisingly, teachers who received those contracts were not the ones who were outspokenly opposed to SPECS. Other rewards were sometimes dangled before teachers, who were quick to note the implicit message of such enticement. The following exchange between two members of the SPECS Committee illustrates the point:

> *Teacher A*: The day after the board meeting where we introduced the problem of SPECS, I got a call from the central office asking me to help on textbook evaluation. I've never been called like that before. And when four of us wanted to attend an out-of-state meeting, the principal was able to go right down and get it for us.
>
> *Teacher B*: They know exactly what they're doing!

Another type of reward, the practice of singling out particular teachers or particular schools for individual recognition, proved to be a double-edged sword. Teachers always enjoy hearing that they are appreciated, and any program that promises such recognition has a built-in appeal. However, South Lane teachers worried about implied comparisons between teachers and the possibility that the good (or perhaps simply conforming) teachers would become the model for all. To teachers, SPECS was essentially a document rather than a process, and many teachers worried about the confusion between good documents and good teaching:

> *Teacher A*: A lot of these documents are used as a whipping boy. One person does a good one, so that person is held in good favor.
>
> *Teacher B*: But a good document does not mean you are teaching better. You can be a good teacher with a bad document and vice versa. Some teachers just give an assignment and then go to work recording things to make the orange book look good.
>
> *Teacher A*: You have to.

Offering to run interference is a special form of appeal that was called up occasionally and makes rather explicit reference to what each party is expected to give in exchange. The developer's offer to conduct a marathon interview early in Year Four to try to assess teacher problems with SPECS was an appeal of that type, but the SPECS Committee found it unconvincing. A more modest but more successful example was reported by the high school principal:

> One teacher told me he was hearing one thing about SPECS from the central office and another from me. I told him to go along with me, and I'd take the consequences. I think there is less problem now than there was.

Positive impression management is a form of appeal and persuasion closely related to *deliberately withholding information*, a category which I will discuss later in the section on the exercise of authority. The line between positive and negative information control is a fine one; the distinction I wish to draw is between "putting one's best foot forward" and blatantly manipulating or withholding information. The most common form of positive impression management used by South Lane administrators was the practice of directing visitors interested in SPECS to certain schools and individuals in order to create the impression that SPECS was a success. Often teachers did not know of the visits of official SPECS observers until long afterwards. Complaints such as the following were frequently voiced:

> What about these visitors coming in? They only meet the administrators. That last group didn't even meet with the teachers, yet the board received a letter saying how impressed the group was with the way the program is going and how well the teachers like it.

Another form of information control, which may or may not have been intentional, resulted from the implied relationship between SPECS and any improvements in the district's instructional program. The school board tended to assume that SPECS was the guiding force behind all instructional programs, including those that bore no relationship to SPECS or even ran counter to its intent. I witnessed no effort by any technocrat to dispel ambiguity about program achievements that were and were not related to SPECS. I was particularly surprised to hear one administrator suggest that possibly even a winning school team was traceable to SPECS.

Helping is another persuasive strategy administrators use to bring about changes among teachers. The history of SPECS is dotted with instances where technocrats provided workshops and inservice training for teachers, discussed plans for providing better help in the future, and assessed the kind of help provided in the immediate past. (As noted earlier, one way for teachers to impede an implementation is to deny the need for such help.) The important distinction between offering help and imposing it was demonstrated in a comment made by the superintendent during the second annual SPECS conference. Somewhat perturbed by the negative review of SPECS given by one of the district's teachers moments earlier, the superintendent responded by emphasizing the need to provide teachers with more help:

> As you can gather from that teacher's comments we have some staff members who still have not caught on. I do not like that attitude to persist in a district—and we are doing everything we can to change it, with workshops, inservice, and so forth.

The very terms educators use for describing how to provide help suggest important differences in the extent to which the person to be helped may exercise choice. Workshops customarily have an element of choice—one may choose among a number of offerings or decide whether to attend or not attend. Inservice help is provided on a different basis; the teacher is paid to attend, and so the innate appeal of the material to be presented need not be a primary consideration. The shift from optional to mandated help leads directly into the next major subset of reciprocating behaviors for technocrats, in which authority need not be masked by subtlety.

Forms of Technocratic Hard Sell: Exercise of Authority

Issuing directives and mandates is the central behavior in this familiar part of the technocrat repertoire. Authority does not, of course, reside in orders or directives themselves; it derives from the extent to which the person who gives an order can back it up. Anthropologist A. F. C. Wallace makes an interesting distinction between managers—the most visible subgroup of educational technocrats—and leaders:

> A manager, as his title suggests, is a person who manages other human beings (i.e., he tells them what to do) and makes his living at it. The professional managing of men is an ancient and respectable form of human activity, with a history that reaches back to the Mesopotamian Neolithic. A manager is distinct from a leader: the manager's word is backed by force; the leader's by the willingness of persons to follow (Wallace 1952:112).

No one, including the superintendent, ever denied that SPECS was mandated in South Lane. The superintendent told the teachers what to do, and his word was backed by force.* The first SPECS coordinator offered this observation:

> One factor of resistance was that this was kind of mandated. It was not a grass-roots issue, it was a superintendent-board decision. The superintendent could see the handwriting on the wall [the national trend toward accountability] and he just had to make a decision and get going. . . . With the resistance you see in some places, like California or Colorado, it could be that you are going to have to push it through.

In the long run, accountability nationwide, like SPECS in Cottage Grove, was pushed back rather than pushed through, and the force of authority was met by the counterforce of teacher resistance. In the day-to-day operation of the district, however, South Lane's technocrats were backed by the formal authority of their office. In addition, they were backed at the local level by the school board and at the state level by the interest of officials in the State Department of Education. There was even an aura of national interest surrounding SPECS, stemming from the fact that the project was federally funded. (The National Institute of Education carefully refrained from endorsing any of the projects it funded, but teachers drew their own inferences from the continued financial support of the SPECS project.)

Technocrats within the district were not reticent in discussing the authoritative manner in which SPECS had been introduced. The first

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* Following Wallace's distinction, the true leadership in the SPECS saga was exercised not by the administrators or R & D personnel but by the nucleus of the teachers' SPECS Committee. Their word had no force but they were able to enlist the willingness of a majority of teachers to follow. Most studies of educational leadership, focused as they are on the role of the administrator, seem to have ignored the impact and nature of teacher leadership as a force in education.

SPECS coordinator made special mention of one technocratically oriented principal:

> He is 100 percent behind the program, not because he understands all the objectives, but basically because he's compatible with the notion of accountability. But when he has to, he mandates, and this year he mandated that every course, every unit, be on a PED.

Another technocratically inclined principal reflected on his own management style:

> Some principals have talked a good game. And there has been a lot of force and coercion—which is all right for getting a job done. . . . I kind of swing from an autocrat to a democrat.

SPECS was not sufficiently developed or understood at the beginning of the pilot program to be imposed through a single edict. Instead, the program was installed item by item, person by person, school by school, and year by year. Just as there was a panoply of teacher behaviors for coping with the implementation, so the technocrats utilized a broad spectrum of behaviors for imposing it. Five identifiable types of behavior for exerting authority will be described here.

Infiltrating the teacher ranks can occur through both inadvertent and intentional behaviors; as a form of hard sell I refer only to technocrats' conscious efforts to co-opt teachers into management or to increase technocratic involvement in the formal business conducted by teachers. Educator moieties are inevitably intertwined through an informal network of personal and family relationships. I have already noted how marriage networks linked many schools and linked administrator and teacher groups in South Lane. These informal networks assure rapid communication of events and practices that might be communicated more slowly (or not at all) through formal channels. Normally, this poses no problem other than creating inevitable awkwardness in the expression of personal feelings and the identification of problem sources. As issues concerning SPECS became more complex, however, the overlap of personal and professional networks did pose "security" problems as information intended for circulation only among teachers invariably found its way to the technocrats.

Although marriage links result in some degree of infiltration across moiety boundaries, I do not mean to suggest that this represents an intentional administrative strategy. However, some teachers were openly suspicious of the technocrats' motives in setting up the formal position of Program Planning Leader, which was described by some teachers as a "downward extension of the administration." Central office appointments on matters relating to SPECS invariably went to teachers and administrators believed to be neutral or pro-SPECS, effectively increasing the ranks of visible supporters for the program.

At the height of teacher anxiety over SPECS, accusations were often made that certain administrators had their informers and "stool pigeons." Members of the SPECS Committee frequently discussed prominent teachers' attitudes toward SPECS and occasionally reviewed the motives of fellow committee members. Known information leaks were carefully traced by teachers and technocrats alike.

Deliberately withholding information is a strategy that goes well beyond the attempt to create a positive impression, which I identified earlier as a form of persuasion. Members of the SPECS Committee clearly suspected the technocrats of this practice; for example, they were convinced that they would never be able to obtain the budget figures necessary to show that SPECS was too expensive. "The superintendent is an expert at juggling figures; we can't take him on that domain," a teacher noted early in Year Four. The failure of teachers to obtain what they felt to be accurate information about SPECS eventually surfaced as a broader issue in Year Six at a school board meeting in which a petition circulated by parents complained, among other things, that the superintendent "can't or won't" provide accurate information on critical issues.*

Whether the inordinate delay in releasing the results of CASEA's 3-year longitudinal study was a deliberate withholding of information may remain an unsolved mystery, but the teachers perceived it to be deliberate and made their interpretations accordingly. Nor were the teachers satisfied with the developer's explanation of why he failed to note that the teachers had conducted their own survey to assess the extent of teacher dissatisfaction when he presented his formal summary report to the school board.

Stalling is one of the more popular tactics for maintaining authority. In South Lane, the superintendent's failure to follow through after receiving the results of the SPECS Committee's original survey was a noteworthy example of stalling. The developer once commented, "I told the superintendent that I thought he blew it when he sat on the [teacher questionnaire] data for six months." Teacher recognition and resentment of the stalling tactic was reflected in a comment about the school board's practice of "putting things [i.e., SPECS-related issues] late in the evening, waiting us out until midnight or 12:30 a.m."

Threat and intimidation are hard-sell behaviors that border on abuse of authority. From the time I began my fieldwork in Year Three until the moratorium began midway in Year Four, I recorded numerous comments such as the following by teachers concerned with real or implied threats:

> Our principal won't have to tell teachers not to show up for the SPECS Committee hearing. He'll just keep track.

* * *

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* At the time of the petition in Year Six, SPECS made a brief reappearance on the front page of the Cottage Grove *Sentinel* [January 15, 1976]. By then, however, it served only as a prototype of problems, and it had to share the spotlight with problems of pupil discipline, teacher dissatisfaction, repeated failures of the school budget, and a threatened teacher strike.

> In the old days, we sometimes heard that teachers in trouble with the administration were told, "Let's see those PEDs."
>
> * * *
>
> It's only fair to say there's pressure here.
>
> * * *
>
> One by one our principal has called people in, yelled and shouted at them about SPECS. He has tried to get me off the SPECS Committee—I had to stand up to him. I cannot help but feel there's a lot of pressure on him . . . He's on a real witchhunt about SPECS.
>
> * * *
>
> There has been a certain fear of voicing criticism of SPECS. A lot of teachers didn't show up because of a fear that if what one said doesn't get written down in a little black book, it will at least go somewhere. Opinions were never asked, and when they've been given, they've usually been crushed.
>
> * * *
>
> There are deadlines for everything. And everything we do is designed to make the principal look good. Just the deadlines themselves are put in writing. The consequences are never written down.

As accusations, comments like these are hard to dispel; as charges, they are even harder to prove.

The *use of sanctions* concludes the inventory of authoritative behaviors. Sanctions do not actually have to be applied to be effective; as long as they might be applied, they exert a constraining influence. A discussion between two high school teachers of some possible ways that might have been (but were not) used to "make it rough" on uncooperative teachers illustrates how vulnerable teachers feel to administrative sanctions. After mentioning such abstract administrative punishments as failing to extend favors and denying special requests, the teachers listed several quite specific punishments that might be applied:

1) giving a teacher a "bad schedule," including a heavy teaching load, a poor time distribution during the day, a lack of regard for teacher preferences
2) assigning oversize classes
3) assigning a disproportionate number of poor students
4) scheduling the teacher's favorite classes (especially an elective) against other popular or required courses
5) giving unsatisfactory review, creating "uncertainty" about contract renewal, possibly even putting a teacher on "alert" status

The one formal sanction that was employed in South Lane—withholding checks—received wide notice and certainly served as a reminder of the administration's authority. That sanction did insure that all required SPECS documents would eventually be completed, but it probably backfired. Payroll matters were unrelated to SPECS, the action tended to put a "price" on SPECS, and it drew attention for the first time to SPECS as a districtwide problem. As one teacher reflected many months afterward:

> I was one of the few teachers who actually had my check held back because I didn't have my summary sheet. But I always spend a couple of days finishing up after school, so that didn't bother me.

Although there were occasional reports that one or more teachers had lost their jobs as a direct consequence of SPECS, that belief did not seem to be based on fact. There were teachers known to have been sufficiently disgruntled over SPECS to leave the district—just as there were jobseeking teachers who learned through the grapevine to be wary of the district at that time—but SPECS only numbers among several factors in such cases. The only account I heard of a dismissal case in which SPECS was specifically mentioned involved a teacher who was charged, among other things, with being "uncooperative." The teacher's failure to "get reports in on time" was allegedly cited in support of the charge, and SPECS documents were prominent among the late reports. Stories that circulated probably attributed a disproportionate part of the "cause" to SPECS.

Forms of Technocratic Hard Sell: Authoritative Retreat

This part of the technocrat repertoire completes the list of hard-sell behaviors and brings me around full circle to the soft-sell behaviors for maintaining the status quo. My observation is that even when teachers have won a cause, they expect technocrats to step in and handle the details. This gives even the most heavy-handed administrator a golden opportunity to turn defeat into a seeming victory by remaining in charge. Teachers do not, in the long run, want to run the schools, they only want to see that they are run "correctly." I have identified three familiar behavior patterns that technocrats follow in the course of an authoritative retreat. All three were utilized in the deimplementation of SPECS.

Looking into the problem represents the first suggestion of retreat, even if the problem is not really looked into at all. Forming study groups or *ad hoc* committees is a favorite technique; although it tends to delay rather than expedite action, it also provides public recognition that a problem may exist. The fact that certain school district personnel were specifically directed to "look into SPECS" tended to open the way—no matter how slightly—for eventual review and redress of teachers' complaints.

A great deal of teacher effort was directed at simply getting the technocrats to acknowledge that SPECS had produced problems. In that regard, an important exchange took place during the summer after Year Three, when the SPECS Committee had its formal confrontation with the superintendent:

> *Teacher*: You painted a rather glowing account of SPECS—and it made an awful lot of people unhappy. No one knew where such information was coming from.

> *Superintendent*: I was getting that feedback. I guess it was from the PPLs and from people who talked with me about SPECS. Your survey indicates there is a very grave communication problem—*which I'd begun to suspect*. . . . If we're asking the staff to do more than they can accomplish in the time allotted, we'll have to remedy that.

Nothing happened for the next several months. As teachers gradually realized that no action was going to result from their initial confrontation, they sought another forum for acknowledging that there was a problem. They decided not to rest their case only with the school board, since the prevailing teacher attitude was that the school board and superintendent were largely of one mind. They called upon the State Department of Education to provide an external review in an attempt to establish publicly that there were problems with SPECS.

Events in South Lane moved quickly and predictably to the next step in the retreat sequence—*declaring a moratorium*. By declaring a moratorium on the SPECS implementation immediately prior to the state department's investigation, South Lane's technocrats stayed firmly in control even during the retreat. By the time the interviewers actually arrived on the scene two months later, the intensity of anti-SPECS feelings had subsided. In addition, teachers who had been waiting months or even years to voice their complaints about SPECS now found themselves in apparent support of existing district policy.

Another moratorium—of shorter duration and smaller consequence—was called by the developer in Year Five just at the time a member of the research team was planning to gather cost data in another district that was implementing SPECS. This brief moratorium on "all data gathering" was perceived by the researcher as a blatant attempt to prevent further probing on the delicate issue of cost.

Reinterpreting the innovation completes the retreat sequence by linking the innovation to the status quo. This typically involves an appeal to "all the good things we have been doing all along" and an explanation that the purpose of the intended change is only to better achieve those same goals. Members of SLEA's SPECS Committee were stunned when the superintendent attempted to reinterpret the SPECS implementation by telling them, "I fought very hard for a system that is in the hands of the teachers." On that same occasion, he opened the way to lessening the burdensome amount of detail that had been plaguing teachers by reinterpreting the purposes of SPECS:

> It's the teachers that are the problem. The system is neutral. . . . We need long-range planning goals. We aren't interested in the day-to-day things. That's the individual teacher's problem and expertise. If you're accomplishing your long-range goals, we don't care what you're doing as long as it's moral and legal.

Eventually SPECS became what the teachers allowed it to become—a format for long-range curriculum planning. A major part of the reinterpretation effort was directed at a shift in emphasis. Such a shift is a promise for the future, but it does not atone for the errors of the past. If atonement is necessary, the shift in emphasis may be accompanied by a shift in blame. In the case of SPECS, most technocrats were magnanimous about accepting some part of the blame themselves. The superintendent provided an illustration of this practice during his first confrontation with the SPECS Committee.

> *Superintendent*: I have to confess to you that if there was a morale problem in this district I was not aware of it.
>
> *Teacher A*: No one says anything. People are afraid of their jobs.
>
> *Teacher B*: Maybe the operating word here is fear. Even the pupils in the classroom are fearful.
>
> *Superintendent*: I never for one minute had a feeling of any morale problem. That must be a tribute to you when I visited your classrooms.
>
> *Teacher C*: And it's spread out uniformly in the district. The questionnaire shows that the feeling is pervasive.

Far more pervasive, however, was the technocrat practice of blaming someone else, usually someone of lower status within the technocrat moiety. The development team blamed district administrators for creating the negative aura about SPECS. They also blamed members of the research staff for adding to the foment in South Lane and for posing a threat to implementations elsewhere. District administrators blamed uncooperative or unsuccessful members within their own hierarchy; the first SPECS coordinator served as a prime target during the turmoil that finally precipitated the moratorium.

Although I have been discussing inventories of reciprocating behaviors throughout this chapter, it is interesting to note how little evidence they provide of an underlying concern for positive mutual exchange. They tend instead to define strategies that members of one moiety take without regard for or confidence in the corresponding behavior of members of the other moiety.

After SPECS had finally been relegated to a place in the history of South Lane and CASEA, many people proclaimed how much they had learned from the experience The implication was, of course, that now, at last, things were back to normal; surely these mistakes would not be made again! A review of the familiar forms of educator reciprocity discussed in this chapter makes one wonder whether such optimism was—or ever will be—warranted.

Chapter 10

Educator Moieties: Complementarity

> The best single answer that the Tewa have to the question of how the society can be divided and integrated at the same time . . . is that at the most important life crises, the society and not the moiety is emphasized.
>
> —Alfonso Ortiz (1969:123-24)

> What I wish we could do is give the results of our survey to the superintendent and the newspapers at the same time and let it all hang out. But I can't see that helping to get the budget passed.
>
> —SPECS Committee Member

IN ANALYZING THE DIVISIVENESS that accompanied the SPECS implementation as a way to understand educator subculture, I have examined conceptual antithesis, rivalry, and reciprocity. The discussion of antithesis and rivalry clearly involved processes of opposition between moieties. So, too, the analysis of reciprocity tended to dwell on countervailing forces—what educator moieties do *to* rather than *for* each other. In discussing complementarity, the fourth type of moiety interaction, I will now consider functions that are essentially positive and that are performed by one or the other moiety *for the group as a whole.*

I did not save the topic of complementarity for last in order to conclude on a positive note or to suggest that once SPECS ran its course, South Lane's educators lived happily ever after. It is critical, however, to place the SPECS implementation in context, and an examination of complementarity helps do just that. Throughout the SPECS turmoil, South Lane's administrators, teachers, and students went their various ways pretty much as they always have and probably always will. In spite of the trials and tribulations of an aborted attempt to implement PPBS, school "kept." And when SPECS was no longer the critical issue, other issues arose to take its place. Subsequent concerns about collective bargaining, about complying with new state requirements for high school graduation, and about getting the annual school operating budget passed served as reminders that the parade of problems is endless.

Before proceeding, I must offer a word of explanation concerning the "functional interpretation" I will employ in this chapter. Readers may already have detected a functionalist bias running throughout the analytical framework that I have proposed. Nowhere is that bias, and its attendant problems, of more concern than in discussing complementarity, a concept that virtually begs for functional explanation.

Functional or structural-functional analysis has long been a central mode of inquiry in social anthropology. Functionalism is sometimes criticized for seeming to claim that everything has a functional relationship to everything else. Roger Keesing has argued that functionalism is "static and involuted, 'explaining' a system in terms of itself," and that it builds on assumptions about a society being "self-contained, integrated, and in equilibrium." Such assumptions may have been adequate for primitive societies, he argues, but they "fail increasingly to fit the rapidly changing social and political patterns of the latter twentieth century" (Keesing and Keesing 1971:391). If these are inherent risks in the functional approach, then I must boldly acknowledge that I am taking them, just as I have drawn my analytic perspective from studies of the social organization of preliterate homogeneous societies in spite of the obvious fact that educator subculture is neither preliterate nor homogeneous.

In using a functional perspective for my analysis, I have been asking, "What are the relationships among these cultural facts and what functions do they perform?" Hopefully, I have avoided the extreme position that insists that everything in a society must be regarded as functional. Nevertheless, the three assumptions that Keesing identified—that the social system is self-contained, integrated, and in equilibrium—are very much in evidence in my account. In particular, I have implied a kind of equilibrium model for looking at the innovative process among educators. An equilibrium model suggests that efforts to introduce innovative change produce counter-efforts that in the end leave things pretty much (but not exactly) as they were at the beginning. Since I have based my analysis on observation rather than on theory, I might suggest that perhaps it is educator subculture, and not my mode of analysis, that is "static and involuted." I do not mean to chastise the educational system for seeming incapable of change so much as I mean to commend it for its most remarkable feature, its capacity for continuity and stability in the face of efforts directed at change. In any case, a discussion of complementarity cannot avoid presenting a functional point of view and at least implicitly employing an equilibrium model.

Complementarity

Being mindful of the tendency for functional analyses to explain systems in terms of themselves, let me summarize the perspective on educator moieties that derives from a consideration of complementarity. Teachers do not want to run the schools and technocrats do not want to teach; the services provided by each "half" of the educator subculture are essential to the proper functioning of the whole.

Although technocrats may insist that the quality or effectiveness of teaching can be improved (and many teachers agree), teaching processes remain relatively unchanged. Structural changes like team teaching seem to fare best, perhaps because they do not interfere with the teaching process. When attempts to tamper with teaching or teachers become too heavy-handed, teachers almost reflexively close ranks and begin drawing upon their broad repertoire of resisting behaviors. On several occasions, particularly during Years Four and Five, South Lane teachers commented upon the solidarity they felt that SPECS had created within their ranks: "SPECS has done more to unite the teachers of this district than anything that's ever happened." In chapter 5, I reviewed the principle of complementary opposition, noting that opposition between groups expands to the largest equivalent units of which all contestants are members. In the SPECS case, that opposition occurred between moieties, the largest subunits within the subculture. Had the battle been carried to state or national levels, only the number of participating "tribes" would have increased; the basic moiety division between teachers and technocrats is not changed by orders of magnitude.

Important to the understanding of educator subculture is the fact that moieties are cumbersome units for handling everyday affairs. Most interaction occurs among smaller units within moieties or between smaller units across moieties. Even in societies whose social organization includes the moiety division, evidence of that division is not ordinarily seen in everyday behavior. Similarly, I have suggested that although the educator subculture has a moiety-like structure and that structure is ubiquitous, it is not important in the day-to-day routine.*

Moiety organization provides an internal system for handling differences that are of great importance to educators but are of only passing importance to noneducators. Whatever those differences are, they are not ordinarily touted before or even revealed to those whom educators refer to collectively as "lay people." When a broader issue faces a school system—even a regular event like the annual school budget election—internal differences must be set aside in collective efforts on behalf of the entire group.

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* An alternative explanation is that the type of division that occurred in the SPECS implementation emerges only as a unique response to social strain. My position is that the moiety division is a pervasive feature of educator subculture. The structural division is critical in order to accommodate two divergent ideational systems within a single subculture. The division itself is ever present but seldom evident. As among preliterate peoples, younger members of the subculture may not even know to which moiety they belong, but those among them who will take up relatively permanent positions in the educator ranks will eventually identify with one group or the other.

The chapter's opening quote from a SPECS Committee member encapsulates this ethos. Among teachers and technocrats, as among the Tewa, "At the most important life crises, the society and not the moiety is emphasized" (Ortiz 1969:124).

At times of no crisis, smaller subunits within the group are far more effective than moieties for handling the routine work of the professional educator. Teachers tend to resent taking time from instructional concerns for administrative matters; administrators skirt issues pertaining to instructional processes; research and development personnel typically maintain a respectful distance from schools and classrooms; and state department officials lament how demands made upon them by schools interfere with their other work. The division of labor within the educator subculture is highly specialized. Only highly ambitious or deeply annoyed individuals would try to wring consensus out of all teachers in even a relatively small school district like South Lane or make a bold attempt to choreograph the efforts of line administrators and university-based research and development personnel in order to impose a major innovative scheme.

The formation of alliances uniting the customarily disparate units within either educator moiety is a clear signal that something (or somebody) has gotten out of hand.* In the case of the SPECS implementation, the very moment when things had finally gotten out of hand was the time when I happened upon the scene. Yet, as excited as some teachers had become in their growing opposition to SPECS, it was difficult for an energetic nucleus of activists to keep the wobbly teacher moiety mobilized for more than a few weeks. Time after time teachers withdrew to the smaller subunits within their schools, departments, or grade levels to get on with the business of teaching. After achieving some minor success in impeding SPECS, teachers showed little inclination for capitalizing on their momentum to achieve a total resolution of the problem. Like the technocrats, they too faced the perennial problem of winning battles but losing the war.

The technocrat moiety coalesced for even briefer moments, perhaps of no more duration than a short meeting or a series of long-distance telephone calls. Resources were quickly mobilized to help stamp out a "brush fire" in Cottage Grove, but as soon as the problem was under control, state officials returned to the capital and the developers returned to writing reports, revising documents and "stroking" new test sites. Once the contemporary educator equivalent of an annual tug-of-war was over, all who had been involved returned to their usual tasks. School kept.

The functional perspective invites attention to the question of how the moiety organization can serve as a unifying force in educator subculture at the same time that it accommodates—and perhaps even nurtures—a seemingly dysfunctional internal divisiveness. The critical and essential advantage of the moiety organization is that it helps educators to cope with their most vexing problem—dealing adequately with the multiple clients of public education. In its traditional form, the nagging question remains: "To whom ultimately are the schools responsible?"

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* Professional "teacher organizers" point out that in school systems where teachers seem reluctant to organize, one approach is to wait patiently and "let the superintendent do it for you" (i.e., let the administration take some action sufficiently annoying to prompt teacher unity).

The complex dual structure within the educator subculture effectively serves the need for education to be and, perhaps more importantly, to appear to be responsive to a number of different clients. R & D technocrats mobilize efforts to satisfy federal whims to develop innovative educational programs; district administrators meet new regulations imposed by state legislators or departments of education; principals meet with delegations of parents or teachers; and teachers confront shifting mores among their students and shifting priorities among their supervisors.

Just as preliterate societies can be comprised of lineages or clans without requiring the presence of larger units like phratries or moieties, so educator subculture—or any similar contemporary subcultural unit—might operate only with smaller units. The attractive feature of the moiety structure is that it can accommodate differing and even opposing viewpoints both from within and without. The diversity within the subculture allows for handling the differences imposed by clients or felt by participants. Regardless of the exact nature of the next wave of educational change (or the next after that) and regardless of its magnitude (i.e., school building, school system, state, or nation), I think it is safe to predict that as reaction builds up in those places that become test sites or test cases, opposition will eventually elevate the rift to the moiety level. Educator moieties will become apparent whenever and wherever teachers perceive that their rights and obligations as teachers are being challenged by their nonteaching colleagues within the subculture.

Without the incredible capacity it has demonstrated for accommodating all kinds of people and all kinds of views, the formal educational system as we know it probably would not exist at all. The moiety structure facilitates a necessary adaptability; coping with change has itself become routinized. Like their preliterate precursors, moieties in contemporary educator subculture enable the group as a whole to achieve "integration through opposition." The ethnographic literature even describes how traditional societies have, on occasion, created go-between groups that combined ideas and personnel from each half of the tribe — a traditional counterpart of the contemporary study group, mediating unit, or review committee.*

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* Ortiz notes similarities between certain Tewa organizations "of the middle of the structure" and a "third moiety" reported among the Washo (D'Azevedo 1963) which "camps between the other two, and which includes members from each of the others" during the annual pine nut harvest (Ortiz 1969:137). Ortiz argues that mediation is essential for achieving integration and continuity among the Tewa, but he notes that members of mediating units are drawn from the existing divisions and do not comprise an independent third unit.

Whatever its potential for integrating or reintegrating the elements of a divided society, the process of genuine mediation was little in evidence during the SPECS implementation. Committees like the districtwide Joint SPECS Committee, or meetings held to discuss problems of mutual concern, seemed to be ritualistically convened, and my impression was that those present held little hope that important changes would follow from their polite but sterile deliberations. During Year Four, while preparing their first "negotiation package" under the state's new collective bargaining procedures, the teachers began shifting issues like SPECS into this unfamiliar but seemingly more potent style of mediating. However, by the time that teachers attained some proficiency with negotiation procedures, SPECS was no longer a big issue in South Lane.

The Interaction Setting

Although there may appear to be an infinite number of possible human interactions within the huge and complex educator subculture, familiarity with the system allows one to predict rather stable patterns of interaction within manageable networks and to anticipate typical responses. Educators interact most often within bounded geographic areas. Identifiable subgroups (such as R & D personnel or elementary school teachers) tend to interact in rather similar ways with a limited set of other subgroups, although there may be a wide range of individual perceptions and actions within any subgroup.

The variation in perceptions between members of different educator subgroups is nicely illustrated by the reflections of one teacher and one technocrat following a formal interview between a staff member of the State Department of Education and an experienced high school teacher. The interviewer reported having been "impressed" with the teacher: "She seemed bright, capable, had lots of good ideas and isn't encumbered by SPECS. She just gets it out of the way and goes on about her work." The teacher's reaction to the same interview was quite different: "He seemed like he was trying to instruct me, to explain my problems away and reword my answers to his purposes. I was uncomfortable during the whole interview." Given the circumstances under which the interview took place, the interaction ritual appears to have been a success in spite of the fact that at least one party felt uncomfortable. As members of clearly opposite camps, both individuals acted more or less as expected.

The fact that different subgroups respond to different audiences and problems further complicates the interaction setting, but it helps the educator subculture as a whole to juggle many competing forces at once. The inclusion of noneducators (particularly school board members) in the decision-making process of schools further hampers educators' ability to agree on what constitutes a key issue at any moment. For example, at the close of the board meeting early in Year Four at which teachers were unable to get the topic of SPECS on the agenda, a teacher asked a board member why the board gave priorty to the long-standing issue of what to do about an old school building rather than address the teachers' pressing concern with SPECS. The board member answered:

> The issue of what to do with that school is much more of a concern than yours. No one ever asks about the SPECS program. People do want to know what we are doing about the building. Or about busing problems.

For all the diversity within the educator subculture, the prevailing mode among educators is one of working together amicably. Much as I have tried accurately to portray the context in which SPECS-related events occurred, I have had to convey this context through printed words that assume a starkness beyond that of the boldest of confrontations in South Lane. There is also a danger that carefully selected and abridged remarks may improperly convey a sense of total rationality and calculating logic. In actuality, neither the teachers' nor the technocrats' positions were so consistent or well formulated as may appear in this account where entire years are compressed into a few pages. For the most part teachers held no position at all, except for their insistence that SPECS was a problem. The technocrats' counterposition was essentially that the problem would go away once teachers learned how to use SPECS. A prevailing ethos favoring unity of action and purpose runs both wide and deep among educators. That ethos dictates that even the slightest disagreement should be couched in terms that allude to the common weal. Educators work self-consciously to portray a public image that emphasizes the mutuality of their interests even when members of the moieties are sharply at odds over the resolution of special issues.

Extreme statements and sharply polarized positions help illustrate the range of educators' attitudes and behaviors, but they are not the stuff of everyday dialogue. The following comment made by a SPECS Committee member is far more typical:

> We still need to keep dragging our feet. But we can make a few concessions to keep the superintendent from looking too bad.

Similar statements, which point out the need to look after one's own interests but also acknowledge the importance of maintaining the unity of the system, are often heard among educators.

In the previous chapter I described a number of reciprocal behaviors that members of each moiety employed during the SPECS implementation in order to achieve their own special purposes within the educational organization. With slightly different emphasis or intent, those same behaviors can also be employed to work toward group cohesion and to accomplish mutual objectives. In the day-to-day interactions of educators, reciprocity and complementarity, like stability and change, go hand-in-hand, more like two sides of the same coin than mutually exclusive behaviors. The seemingly discrete categories that facilitate functional analysis must now give way to the complexity of real human interaction. In real life, complementarity and reciprocity are not so clearcut nor easily distinguishable as the analysis has implied. Nonetheless, the underlying analytic developed around a particular form of social organization—a duality that accommodates important ideational differences between two major subdivisions and also recognizes the broad unifying themes of the entire subculture—emerges all the stronger. Cultural differences result from the fact that rather different meanings can be assigned to quite similar behaviors.

Maintaining Unanimity

In the face of the disruptive influence that SPECS exerted in South Lane, members of each moiety employed several strategies for attempting to maintain unanimity and cohesiveness within the school system. One common tactic was to deny that a problem existed. A second strategy was to reinterpret the problem. A third approach was to displace the problem by blaming it on some outside force. A review of the way each moiety employed these various strategies to maintain group unity concludes this chapter.

The tactic of denying the existence of problems was most often employed by the technocrats. The superintendent was particularly adroit at making everything appear to be in control. Given the high visibility of his position, it was hardly surprising that his pronouncements, particularly his public ones, suggested (and sometimes insisted) that there were no major internal problems. When SPECS unrest was almost at its peak early in Year Four he nonetheless stated during an interview that his teachers were "really doing a fine job with the SPECS material." At CASEA, the question of whether to provide negative feedback to the various SPECS sites was debated by members of the development staff even into the final year of the project. The issue of resolving internal disagreement in order to present a united front bedeviled teachers as well. For example, petitions circulated at the junior high in Year Four called attention to the fact that the SLEA SPECS Committee did not speak for all teachers in the district.

Reinterpreting the problem was a strategy that tended to emphasize the essential unity within the district and to point out that differences were all relatively minor points. Although there was an obvious difference in the technocrats' emphasis on what was *new* and promising and the teachers' emphasis on what was *old* and promising, this strategy served to minimize differences and to underscore continuity, cohesiveness, and a shared sense of purpose.

The strategy of problem displacement attributed the cause of trouble either to personal failings or to process failings. Technocrats seemed far more inclined than teachers to try to lay the blame for project failures on specific individuals. On the other hand, while teachers showed less tendency to blame project problems on personal shortcomings, they did not hesitate to refer to unpopular ideas by the personal names of those most closely associated with them.

Displacement through transferring the cause of trouble to process failings was employed by both teachers and technocrats, but with important differences that reflected their differing ideational systems. Teachers displaced the SPECS controversy by relating it to the bigger issue of a breakdown of trust within the district. As one teacher remarked, "A lot of this could be taken care of if there was a sense of trust. That seems to be what is missing." It seems quite consistent with the teacher ideational system sketched earlier that teachers would call attention to a lack of trust to compensate for their feelings of vulnerability.

Technocrats also transferred the source of the problem to process failings conveniently external to themselves, usually by attributing the trouble to communication problems. The teachers were never satisfied with the explanation that the problem with SPECS was a problem of communication, although they did point out the irony of a school planning, evaluation, and communication system that generated rather than resolved communication problems. Some dedicated pro-SPECS technocrats continued to insist that communication was one of the system's strengths; for example, one principal firmly believed that SPECS had "greatly aided teacher communication." But nearly everyone who mentioned communication spoke of it as a problem and sometimes as *the* problem within the district, as demonstrated by the following comment:*

> A lot of time taken up by SPECS was spent on meetings that didn't go anywhere. There has been a need for communication between teachers and between schools.
>
> * * *
>
> Many of the problems I've seen in South Lane over a couple of years are a function of a lack of communication.
>
> * * *
>
> We need to open up channels of communication. The staff are not communicating with administrators, conveying their feelings. There isn't open communication.

I doubt that a diminished sense of trust seemed any more the real cause of problems with SPECS to the technocrats than communication problems were convincing as an explanation among teachers. As one teacher concluded after the confrontation between the SPECS Committee and the superintendent:

> I don't think the superintendent was very receptive. He kept calling this a communication gap. The problems raised in the questionnaire aren't a communication gap!

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* Anthropologist Alfred G. Smith has suggested that when we perceive "not getting what we want" as a problem of communication, we are engaging in an intellectualistic fantasy (Smith 1968). Consistent with Smith's observation, my personal assessment of the problems related to SPECS in South Lane was that they resulted not from a failure of communication, but from unwanted messages transmitted only too well.

What is important is the fact that each group was willing to accept a problem explanation that did not implicate the opposite moiety. That behavior, in turn, signaled a recognition that whatever was wrong was affecting the system as a whole and a willingness to review ways to address the problem through a united effort. Recounting the Tewa origin myth, an informant told anthropologist Ortiz, "In the end we came together again as we are today." Virtually those very words were echoed by the South Lane superintendent during Year Six when the growing rift within the district, by that time channeled almost totally into formal negotiation procedures, had almost led to a teacher strike.

> I don't feel either side had to give unduly. We're together again now and can get back to the business of educating the kids.

Chapter 11

Summing Up

> It is difficult to conclude with a dramatic flourish. The essay has not a dramatic structure—its main drift seems downhill. And a summary would be needlessly repetitive.
>
> —Marshall Sahlins (1965:186)

IF I HAD ANTHROPOLOGIST Sahlin's confidence, I would have concluded this essay with the previous chapter. This is, after all, a descriptive study. The descriptive account is completed. I have analyzed what I could analyze. There is no dramatic flourish.

Personally I feel a sense of despair in the realization that educators have such a capacity for making their own lives and the lives of their professional colleagues so stressful, particularly when the stress detracts both from achieving a collective sense of purpose and from personal opportunities for career satisfaction. In this chapter, I want to emphasize the importance of the problem of what educators do *to* each other by reviewing it both in terms of the specific case and in terms of the educator subculture more generally. A summary also provides an opportunity to review the anthropological model I have employed in my analysis and to reflect on the role of ethnography in educational research. Finally, any summation of the SPECS case ought to include some comments on planning-programming-budgeting systems in specific and on educational accountability in general. I will begin by addressing the last of these three topics.

About PPBS in Specific and Accountability in General

One reason for the lack of a dramatic conclusion is the fact that PPBS itself—whether in the form of SPECS or one of its other incarnations in education, government, and business—seemed simply to fade away without any dramatic final collapse. Victor Thompson numbers among those who waited impatiently to write its epitaph:

> PPB has been almost a total failure and has been dropped by state

> governments almost as fast as it was adopted after 1965 when President Lyndon Johnson ordered it installed throughout the federal government. Although long abandoned in fact, it was formally dropped by Washington only in 1971. (By the way, who is responsible for the billions of dollars and millions of man hours wasted on this gimmick? It all could have been saved if we had had more heroic resisters to "innovation.") (Thompson 1975:95-96)

Commenting specifically on the SPECS project during a discussion of the research and development projects underway at the Center in the autumn of 1975, an NIE official remarked, "I couldn't believe they were still talking about PPBS. I haven't heard anyone mention it in Washington for three years." A few people did continue to talk about PPBS. In Year Six, SPECS still had a small following of stalwart believers who insisted that, whatever fate might befall the SPECS package, they would individually continue to use some of its procedures and features. The passage of time also saw an accumulation of reports and articles describing the shortcomings and failures of PPBS in other educational settings, ranging from descriptions of statewide problems to case studies similar to the one reported here.*

Just as SPECS was only one of many variants of PPBS adapted for use in schools, so PPBS was but one approach used by educators in the early 1970s in their quest for accountability. Educational researcher Gene Glass identified six separate activities to which the term accountability was then being applied: input-output analysis relating resources to outcomes; accreditation programs; behavioral statements of instructional objectives coupled with "objectives reference testing"; voucher systems; performance contracting; and PPBS (Glass 1972:637). After reviewing each of these activities against an accountability paradigm, Glass concluded that neither PPBS nor performance contracting embodied accountability in any sense. In regard to PPBS, he noted, "plans are only plans; they can be written safely or equivocally" and "budgets can always be written to disguise more than they reveal" (Glass 1972:637-638).

Regardless of how PPB systems were touted or criticized, they were in the mainstream of the accountability movement during that era in American public education. However, no new movement seems able to long withstand the effects of wholehearted educator embrace. Criticism did not initially keep pace with glowing accounts of accountability's potential, but in time the overarching concept was destined to fade away—or at least undergo drastic revision—as its earned reputation caught up with its imagined potential. It was only a matter of time until the cautions of critics who addressed accountability's philosophical or theoretical shortcomings would be buttressed by reports of its failures in actual use.*

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* A collection of brief studies tracing implementation efforts in 13 school districts and one community college that made some headway in adopting SPECS was completed during the final year of the project (Cole and Henderson 1976). These studies were part of the formal documentation submitted in completion of the SPECS project contract. No other site ever attempted the effort made in South Lane to implement all five SPECS components. Reports of problems in the implementation of other forms of educational PPBS can be found in Kirst 1975; Stephens 1975; Thomas, Wanatabe, and Essex 1974; and Van Geel 1972.

Slogans such as "accountability" come and go; acronyms like PPBS or SPECS linger to embarrass those who cannot remember what the initials stand for or may never have known in the first place. But the problems that the SPECS project tried to address have not gone away, and I do not mean to dismiss the genuine effort made by the developers and those who aided or supported them to resolve a critical issue within the educator subculture. The underlying problem that SPECS tried to address, however awkwardly, was the problem of finding ways for educators to demonstrate their accomplishments, both within their own ranks and to the public. Educators need evidence of the educational accomplishment resulting from their endeavors, but "Mickey Mouse in triplicate" is not the kind of evidence they need. SPECS bogged down under the weight of a system that seemed to become an end in itself and a threat to those who bore the brunt of the effort.

The major problem with SPECS, with PPBS, and with other specific accountability systems is not that they have failed to address a critical problem. Rather, they have promised a panacea to the problem without regard for the complexity of the issues and without sufficient understanding of the internal dynamics of educator subculture. PPBS, for its brief moment in educational history, promised to be the answer:

> Educators have been entrusted with the management and operation of the public's schools—that is their stewardship, a mission they don't want to lose. PPBS's distinct advantage is that it allows educators to give testimony to their own stewardship (Koerner 1972:34).

If the advantage of PPBS did not prove quite so distinct, the question of stewardship remains nonetheless, as does the need for providing testimony. SPECS provided a format for systematically gathering testimony. Little wonder that some educators were willing to invest their professional careers in it and that NIE was willing to support it through a seven-year developmental and implementation effort. Nor is it any surprise that certain elements of SPECS became part of the work-a-day world of South Lane's educators, including course planning procedures that distinguished broad general goals from specific performance objectives and identified criteria for evaluating learner achievement. Given the prevailing technocrat interests of the times, however, it seems quite likely that the district would have implemented those procedures even without SPECS.

The SPECS case is neither the first nor the last time that enthusiastic developers will come along with the answer to some educator problem and eventually precipitate a sequence of events similar to those described here. I am firmly convinced that, with only minor variations, the saga of the development, implementation, and "de-implementation" of SPECS has been and will be reenacted time and time again in the nation's schools. Nonetheless, my heart sank when I heard a former SPECS project member describe a new project in terms of this one: "It's SPECS all over again—only worse!"

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* See, for example, the discussion by Murphy and Cohen (1974) of problems with educational accountability at the state level. Other critical reviews include Bowers (1971, 1974:136-144); Glass (1972); Hills (1974); Martin, Overholt, and Urban (1976).

About Moieties in Specific And the Anthropological Approach in General

Although I have argued that the educator subculture is moiety-like, I have not tried to prove that it *is* a moiety system, even though I am personally attracted to that position. I have, however, tried to demonstrate the utility of analyzing educator subculture through the use of a structural model. Since I have drawn many parallels with Ortiz's study of Tewa social organization, let me draw upon him again to state the case here:

> In the end, the question must be whether the concept of dual organization explains the data in a more meaningful way, and whether by using such a concept we better understand how Tewa society works (Ortiz 1969:131).

From an anthropological perspective, the critical element in the analysis is not the identification of structural arrangements *per se* but the proposal of a thesis related to that structure. My thesis is that educator subculture is distinguished by a moiety-like division that accommodates two divergent ideational subsystems. I also take the position that the moiety model is both necessary and sufficient for analyzing educator social organization.* That position necessitated an examination of the anthropological literature on moieties. The literature directed my attention to certain patterns of interaction, leading me to review the SPECS case in terms of conceptual antithesis, rivalry, reciprocity, and complementarity.

As the analysis began to take shape, there proved to be a remarkable number of parallels between traditional moieties and their contemporary educator counterparts, particularly in the examination of conceptual antithesis and rivalry. I found complementarity to be critical but rather obvious among educator moieties; it is hardly a revolutionary discovery that education has become so large and specialized that its subunits must perform tasks that contribute to the maintenance of the entire group, or that members of each major division within the group complain about the others' behavior without having any intention of assuming their responsibilities.

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* If one chooses to argue that educator subculture is comprised of more than two subunits (and their corresponding ideational subsystems), then the structural analog could be extended to phratries, clans, or lineages. The analysis would remain rather similar except for the absence of the neat dichotomy of a dual division.

In examining the intriguing concept of reciprocity, I could not keep from wondering whether there is undue emphasis on negative reciprocity in educator subculture. Could educators achieve their purposes equally well through a reciprocity directed at "doing for" instead of "doing to"? Is it pollyannish to ponder what might happen if some of the energy expended in competition between the moieties was instead directed toward making educator roles more rewarding for everyone? I wonder, too, whether negative reciprocity is a reflection and consequence of times of abundance such as the late 1960s, when spending for educational innovation reached unprecedented levels. As anthropologist Evans-Pritchard once observed, "It is scarcity and not sufficiency that makes people generous" (Evans-Pritchard 1940:85).

The moiety concept has here been employed as a structural model. I rest my case for the model on the argument that it not only enhances explication of a particular effort at educational innovation but that it offers an explanation of how the whole educator subculture works. The model focuses on social organization rather than on innovative process. I turned to an examination of social organization because I found it impossible to watch the implementation process itself, although it was quite possible to watch how people reacted to that process over time. Too many researchers have, I believe, been too attentive to innovations and too inattentive to how educators organize to cope with them. In the SPECS case, "implementation" proved to be only one phase of the total innovative process; examining the "de-implementation" phase proved even more instructive as a way of inquiring into the social organization of educators.

Social scientists look for general models that have cross-cultural validity. The moiety concept as employed here represents a modest effort to identify such a model. This particular model highlights similarities in behavior and interaction between preliterate whole societies and subcultures within modern society. I have sought diligently to anchor my analysis in traditional anthropological literature and to develop it in rather traditional, even conservative, anthropological fashion.

The case study draws on anthropology for both its fieldwork techniques and its conceptual approach. In recent years there has been a growing interest in employing ethnographic techniques in educational research, but this interest has not often been accompanied by a corresponding opportunity for ethnographically oriented researchers to organize and present their materials in accord with the traditions of their discipline. Fortunately for me, in working under the auspices of the Center, I have had the opportunity of setting my own course. I have endeavored to construct this account on a firm anthropological footing and to expand it beyond the type of "participant-observer" approach that seems now to have become well-known in educational research.

Perhaps this study will serve as a prototype for others. We would do well to broaden the scope of descriptive educational research beyond the limits of mere participant-observation or the practice of hiring ethnographers whose contracts specify in advance what part of the educational setting they must look at. Important as is the need for "naturalistic observation" in educational research, anthropology has more to contribute to the study of education than simply supplying observers. My underlying emphasis on social organization and ideational systems is designed to illustrate the potential value of an ethnographic approach that exhibits a clear relationship with its disciplinary underpinnings.

About the Case Study in Specific and Educator Subculture in General

In large measure, members of the two moieties identified in the case study engaged in a rivalry that went almost unnoticed by the larger community they purportedly were serving. They created their own hell, pitting their energies and talents against each other to create stress and anguish that detracted from the quality of their professional lives and the lives of their peers. If there are classroom effects from drawing off so much teacher energy, then the problem is of even greater consequence. However, I have no compelling evidence that classroom life was really affected. Thus I cannot dismiss the possibility that, for at least some educators, issues like SPECS are seized upon to add variation, challenge, and opportunity for peer interaction. Still, it is my personal view that the conflict over SPECS was a needless waste of human resources.

Although I have argued that SPECS created more problems than it solved, in broader perspective it might be more accurate to say that, in common with most other educational innovations, it intensified stress that was already extant. SPECS did not evoke change in the system as much as it made critical but ongoing processes within the system easier to discern. It was not "neutral," as its developers claimed, so much as it was indiscriminate, affecting everything it touched. As a consequence of SPECS, points of stress within the whole cultural subsystem became more amenable to observation.

If the moiety model is as universal as I have argued, then it should be applicable in other educator settings and under other circumstances. But if educator moieties are as unwieldy as their traditional counterparts, then the best opportunities to examine them will occur under similar conditions of stressful change. Given the technocrats' predilection for change, it should not be difficult to find other settings to observe. However, resistance to most innovations does not achieve the magnitude it did in the SPECS case. Structural opposition does not invariably lead to all-out resistance.

We might seek a new perspective on educational change by looking for different ways to ask the ethnographer's most basic question, "What is going on here?" In educator circles, such events as have been chronicled are identified as *change* (or "innovation") and *resistance to change*. What happens if we introduce other labels instead? Surely there was resistance to something, but what if we label that something as "interference" or even "meddling"? Resistence to interference or to meddling does not cast teachers so readily as hopeless reactionaries. Such a perspective opens the way for asking some new questions about the efforts of those who have made a formal bid to be recognized as education's "change agents." The authors of an earlier study of educational change raised the question directly:

> We submit that this "resistance to change" assumption needs to be challenged. We would contend that in many organizations the empirical reality is that a number of their members are exposed to irritating problems and needless strain, and consequently would welcome innovations that appeared to offer solutions to their difficulties (Gross, Giacquinta, and Bernstein 1971:204).

In the analytical framework with which I examined the SPECS case, problems of change and resistance come under the rubric of reciprocity. One strength of this approach is that it does not assume that teachers instinctively resist all change. It also suggests a rather obvious lesson for technocrats who are hellbent on making changes in education—teachers will most readily accept those changes that offer solutions to teacher problems. To use a homely metaphor, education's change agents have earned a reputation for "scratching where it isn't itching."

In these pages I have tried to portray the educator social system as I observed it in one school district during the attempt to implement one particular innovation. As an educator I am as embarrassed by what I have to report as I was embarrassed earlier by being associated with the project, but I have tried to report accurately, even objectively. As I have noted, I am firmly convinced that neither the history of the SPECS project nor the attitudes of the scores of educators whose professional lives were touched by it are all that unique. The beliefs and behaviors of educators in other school districts and in larger educational units, such as regional school-university complexes or state systems of education, exhibit characteristics essentially similar to those described here.

Descriptive studies portray people and events as they are. They do not resolve issues of whether things can or should be done differently. It would be paradoxical indeed if I were to summarize a largely futile seven-year effort to impose change by concluding that the system needs a total overhaul. At best, I hope that the moiety perspective is of some utility—or at least academic interest—to professional educators and others who are interested in schools. Neither the documentation of the case nor the perspective suggested for analyzing it points the way to answering a question often asked during the course of the project: "How can we keep this from happening again?" The moiety perspective does suggest, however, that such a question, even if stated in identical words, may have a quite different meaning to technocrats and to teachers.

Acknowledgements

Like the project itself, the writing of this monograph extended through a number of stages readily divisible into early days and later days. I have always followed the practice of asking colleagues to read and react to drafts at different stages in the development of a manuscript. In the early days of writing, while the project was operating at full scale and I was personally wrestling with problems of how to describe and analyze it, the encouragement of my earliest readers provided the necessary impetus to broaden the focus of my original "field draft" in order to examine educator subculture in terms of the lessons of the case study. Critical but supportive reaction to the subsequent draft, a longer and far more comprehensive version, provided the impetus for a second major editing on my part. The painstaking efforts expended by the Center's editor in tightening the manuscript carried me through a third.

Numerous as they are, the acknowledgements that follow pertain only to those who offered the invaluable service of collegial review with the manuscript, not with the fieldwork itself.

I invited reactions to my original field draft from Elizabeth Eddy, Emil Haller, Shirley Kennedy, Don Messerschmidt, Richard O'Connell, John Packard, Jane Powers, C. Douglas Rider, and Philip Young. None of them was satisfied with the manuscript exactly as written, but all were helpful and encouraging in marking or voicing their reactions, suggesting possible changes in the order of presentation, questioning points that needed clarification or fuller development, and calling other authors, frameworks, or analytical concepts to my attention. A note penned on the copy returned by one of them bolstered me at low points for the ensuing three years: "This is a remarkable document. It *must* see the light of day."

Two of my original readers, Emil Haller and Shirley Kennedy, subsequently read the rewritten and expanded draft completed some 30 months later, after the fieldwork was finished. They proved to be my toughest critics and my greatest sources of inspiration. Haller helped me to understand and portray the technocratic ideational system and the nature of the interaction between members of opposite moieties. Kennedy, convinced that the study should have utility not only to educators but also as a model for anthropologists interested in examining contemporary forms of social organization, worried over my "soft level of conceptualization" and kept a sharp eye on my anthropological sources and explanations. Other readers who combined valued suggestions with welcome encouragement included Max Abbott, Chuck Canfield, Les Corey, Lloyd DuVall, Allan Gaynor, Sundra Gregory, Darrell Langevin, Mary Langevin, Frank Long, Caleb Standafer, and Dave Zupan.

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I must confess that at times during the long fieldwork-and-writing period, I wondered how my colleagues at the R & D Center would react to my diligent efforts to describe and analyze the SPECS project from an insider's point of view. In fact, however, individual reactions were quite favorable. I was encouraged to submit the manuscript for consideration as a Center publication. Members of the Publications Committee—W. W. Charters, Jr., Philip Piele, and Richard Schmuck—formally accepted the manuscript for publication by the Center and informally offered a number of helpful suggestions. Sandy Charters' well-timed and incisive critique was a new source of inspiration as I began another thorough editing of the manuscript. That task took 6 months and was completed in part while I was a visiting faculty member at McGill University in Montreal during the summer of 1976.

With some concern for readability as well as for cost, members of the Publications Committee recommended that I look for ways to shorten the manuscript, although they did not impose a length restriction or direct where or how cuts should be made. My own editing resulted in a substantially tighter version but not a substantially shorter one. CEPM's skillful editor, Jeff Grass, adroitly proposed cuts and changes that effectively reduced the length of the manuscript by about 70 typewritten pages without in the least diminishing its integrity. Throughout months and months of my writing, rewriting, and revising, Linda Brandsness cheerfully typed and looked after the manuscript until its accuracies and inaccuracies alike were finally cast in lead.

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